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CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF INDIANA

HUBERT M. SKINNER

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CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF INDIANA

For Schools and for Teachers' Institutes

BY

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LINCOLN DAY OBSERVANCES BY SCHOOLS AND CLUBS

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INTRODUCTION

That the year 1916, the Centennial of Indiana's Statehood, should awaken the deepest popular interest and be marked with a pageantry unprecedented in any similar case is not surprising, in view of the history of the State and its people.

Indiana was the eighteenth State to be organized and to enter the American Union. Of the four dozen States composing the great Republic, Indiana is only the thirty-eighth in area, being the smallest of all the "Western States" of the old classification; but in population, according to the Federal census of 1910, it is surpassed by only seven States in all the Union.

The people of Indiana are chiefly of the old Colonial stock, the European immigration never having been excessive; and the boundaries of the State are for the most part highly artificial, consisting of straight and imaginary lines. Yet in its history and development Indiana has manifested a character of its own, which is altogether remarkable among the commonwealths; and while the people are intensely loyal to the Union as a whole, they cherish a deep love for their State, and take great pride in it.

The travel of the world and the migrations of people are far more generally upon east-and-west lines than upon north-and-south lines; and a majority of the States naturally have their longest lines running east and west, or approach more nearly the figure of a square, or are very irregular in shape. Indiana and Illinois are among the exceptions to this general rule, for their greatest extension lies north and south, directly across the lines of popular movement. This is fortunate in both cases; for the northern and southern parts of these States

were settled by Americans of decidedly different types, and the result of the unnatural arrangement of the boundaries has been a happy blending of these types into one, which is superior to either of them. The southern counties were the first to be peopled, and their early settlers came generally from the States to the east and southeast The northern counties drew their early population chiefly from New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The northwest corner of Indiana, although so near to the great city of Chicago, is the newest part of the State, but within recent decades has been the scene of rapid development.

The history of Indiana extends far back of the period of Statehood, for Indiana was a Territory before it became a State, and it formed a part of important Colonial possessions of European powers before it became a Territory of the Republic. In the Territorial period, which included the years of the war of 1812, Indiana was the scene of a number of interesting events. Likewise certain movements of Revolutionary history, which have an importance altogether out of proportion to the number of men engaged in them, relate to Indiana. And far back of the Revolution, in the Colonial period of French and British dominion, Indiana was the scene of important and highly romantic exploits which awaken interest and admiration.

It is well for us, then, to review at this time the entire history of Indiana, from its remote beginnings, and to trace the rise of a great State from the earliest exploration of the wilderness in which it orginated.

The story of Indiana is naturally divided into six periods.

First, there were all the long ages before the White man ever penetrated the wilderness which was included within our present boundaries.

Then came the time of the French explorers, missionaries, and traders from Canada, who were subjects of the king of France, and who were determined, by brave and bold exertions, to extend his dominions in the heart of America, and to

establish the Christian faith wherever they might go. Following this came a long war between the British and the French; and at its close, the region included within our State lines, and a vast territory lying beyond them, came into the possession of the British.

When the British Colonies of the East broke away from the British Empire, declared themselves free and independent States, and determined to govern themselves, the small White population that was then within our boundaries joined in the Revolution.

At the close of the war, when American independence was achieved, the western land of which Indiana forms a part was formed temporarily into a great dependency of the new Union, and called the Northwest Territory. A large part of this, in the year 1800, was formed into the Territory of Indiana. Later, this was much reduced in size; and in 1816 it was formed into a State, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the seventeen older States of that time.

We have thus to consider, in order, the Aboriginal period, the period of French exploration and colonization, the British Colonial period, the Revolutionary period, the Territorial period, and the period of Statehood. So great were the changes wrought through these successive periods of time, that they possess an exceedingly varied interest for the student of history.

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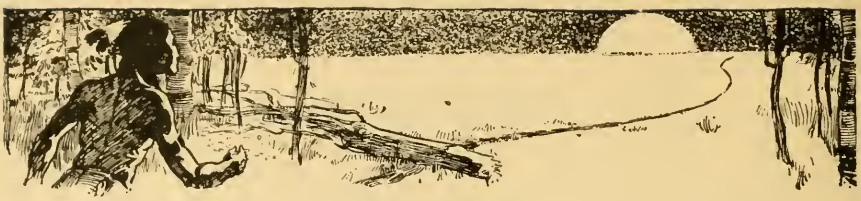


THE SONG OF THE OLD SAC TRAIL

By HUBERT M. SKINNER

ILLUSTRATED BY LUDVIG HOLBERG

The Old Sac Trail, trod first by the Indians, later by the explorers, and in early days the pathway of important military expeditions, followed the narrow strip of land between Lake Michigan and the swamp of the Kankakee, now covered by a network of railway lines, the greatest highway of commerce in the world.—*Editor.*

My course I take by marge of lake or river gently flowing,
  Where footsteps light in rapid flight may find their surest going.
I hold my way through forests gray, beneath their rustling arches,
  And on I pass through prairie grass, to guide the silent marches.

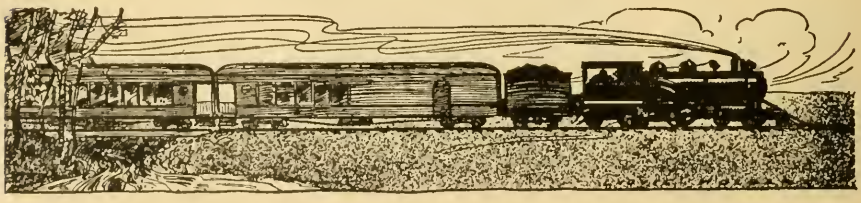
In single file, through mile on mile, the braves their chieftains follow;
  By night or day they keep the way, they wind round hill and hollow.
From sun to sun I guide them on, the men of bow and quiver,
  And on I pass through prairie grass, as flows the living river.

Where waters gleam, I ford the stream; and where the land is broken,
  My way I grope down rocky slope, by many a friendly token.
The shrubs and vines, the oaks and pines, the lonely firs and larches
  I leave, and pass through prairie grass, to guide the silent marches.

To charts unknown, in books unshown, I am no lane or byway.
  Complete with me from sea to sea the continental highway!
I guide the quest from East to West,—From West to East deliver,
  For on I pass through prairie grass, as flows the living river.

The bivouac leaves embers black amid the fern and clover,
  And prints of feet the searchers greet, to tell of journeys over.
The sun beats hot. I reckon not how sear its splendor parches.
  I onward pass through prairie grass, to guide the silent marches.

The Red Man's God prepared the sod, and to his children gave it.
  His wrath is shown in every zone against the men who brave it.
Then righteous be, who follow me, and praise the Heavenly Giver,
  While on I pass through prairie grass, as flows the living river.



THE ABORIGINAL PERIOD

—1679

CHAPTER I

INDIANA IN ANCIENT DAYS

At the time when the present limits of Indiana were first entered by White men, more than two and one-third centuries ago, there were no Indians living here. This large tract of country, greater in area than the whole of Scotland or of Ireland, and so important now and so dear to us, was without human inhabitants. Animal and vegetable life was abundant. Here was, indeed, a hunters' paradise, it would seem; but the hunters were wanting.

So remarkable a fact requires explanation. Why was the area of Indiana then an untenanted solitude?

The number of Indians existing upon this continent a few centuries ago is very greatly exaggerated in the minds of most people. Careful students of historical problems relating to the Indians are confident that, three centuries ago, the entire Indian population within the present boundaries of the United States was not much more than the number of people in the city of Indianapolis today. That is to say, the Indians numbered only about three hundred thousand. The Indian population of the United States has never grown rapidly, but there are probably more Indians in our country at this time than there were in the time of Columbus.

With so small a body of inhabitants in so vast an expanse

of territory, there must necessarily have been large tracts wholly unoccupied. The Indians were left to choose the districts which suited them best. So attached were they to certain regions especially favored by nature, that rival tribes often fought for the possession of these, although there was no need for crowding together. The Indians loved the valleys of the Hudson, the Mohawk, and the Susquehanna, in the East. They loved the prairies of Iowa and of Illinois, the dalles of Wisconsin, the picturesque shores of Michigan. Even the cold winters of the North could not chill their love for Minnesota, nor the hot summers burn out their love for scenes in the sunny South. That they had not yet developed a love for what is now Indiana is easily understood when we consider how different this region was, in centuries gone, from the Indiana of today.

Very much of our State was then covered with swamp or with heavy timber. These presented appalling obstacles to our own pioneers of the last century. Beautiful prairies there were, scattered here and there; but these were usually small, and seemed hopelessly separated by scarcely-passable marshes, almost-shoreless rivers, and thick woods. The very air was poisoned with the malaria which arises from stagnant water and decaying vegetation. While in other young States the pioneers found virgin fields awaiting them, the earliest farmers of Indiana had to *make* the fields, by felling timber and uprooting the underbrush. They had to *make* even the atmosphere, by draining the swamps. They had to build their roads, often amid discouraging difficulties.

The picture drawn of early Indiana by writers of the past may seem very uncomplimentary, but their truth is confirmed in many ways; and, really, could there be higher praise of any people than to say that their indomitable spirit transformed into the great, wealthy, and beautiful State of today a region which did not appeal even to the savages of old? It is vastly to the credit of the people of Holland that they won their lands from the sea; and to the people of Indiana, that they won their lands from the swamp and thick forest and tanglewood.

It would not be true to say that the area included in Indiana had never been inhabited in any part before the first White man came. It would seem that Piankeshaw, Pottawattamie, and possibly Ouiatenon (We-aw-te-non′) Indians had sojourned upon both banks of the Wabash in previous periods, though it is not clear that any considerable part of our area had been the fixed home of any important Indian communities for any long period, unless in centuries very remote.

A generation ago there was much discussion of the Mound Builders, a supposed or assumed race of people who erected strange *effigies,* as they are called (mounds representing in a distorted way the outlines of animals and sometimes of men), and other earthworks, such as are found in Wisconsin, in Ohio, and elsewhere. It was assumed that the Mound Builders were an ancient people, from whom the Indians were not descended. A later study of the problem presented by such mounds gives evidence that their antiquity has been very greatly exaggerated, and that they were the work of the Indians themselves.

Among the most interesting relics of ancient days in Indiana are the trails which led through the prairie regions. Among these the Old Sac (or Sauk) Trail must have been of great importance, even when there were no inhabitants along its course, since it formed the great highway between the East and the West along the height of land between Lake Michigan and the Kankakee swamp. It had branches at both ends of this narrow strip lying between the impassable Lake, which extends so far to the northward, and the almost equally-impassable succession of swamps, which seemed unending in their stretch to the southward.

The trail had been in use, doubtless, for centuries, and had been improved by succeeding generations of travelers on foot (for the Indians in old time had no horses or oxen), so as to avoid unnecessary difficulties, by shortening the line, by crossing streams at the most favorable places, by touching at clear springs of water, by keeping in sight of needed timber, by escaping steep ascents or muddy bottoms. In the perfection of

their famous trails, the Indians showed themselves far superior to the people of Morocco at the present time; for while there is constant travel in that land between the coast and the capital, travelers tell us that there are neither roads nor trails to guide them through the tall grass, and that each sojourner makes a new path of his own, with constant loss of time which the directness of a well-planned trail might save.

There is a disposition now to mark the lines of the old Indian trails of Indiana, and this might well be done in all the counties through which they pass. Some of these have been preserved in the roads of the present day, which happily followed the path pursued by the Indians of ancient days, in disregard of section lines drawn by the surveyors of the last century. Cities and towns, however, have been laid out generally with reference to section lines; and where the line of an ancient trail passes over their sites, it is not likely to correspond to streets or alleys. Occasionally the line of an old trail has caused an irregular street or avenue in an Indiana city or town, and will explain this if the facts concerning it are known.

In view of the very great importance of certain famous Indian trails, and the practical wisdom of ages exercised in determining their course, it is disappointing to learn that they were merely narrow foot-paths, a very few feet wide, and of seeming insignificance. Yet to "lose the trail" was often a very serious, if not fatal, calamity to the traveler fleeing for his life, or to those who were awaiting important news to be brought by the fleetest messengers.

Along the trail the Red Men were wont to pass generally in single file, with a swinging gait, carrying their weight chiefly upon their toes, and placing one foot almost directly in front of the other, in their flight. By this means the small number of persons infrequently passing would keep the narrow trail worn as much as possible, so that it would not be lost by the growth of grass in the intervals between the marches.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD

1679—1763

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ADVENT OF WHITE MEN

On a dreary December day of 1679, the present northern boundary of Indiana was crossed by a company of French explorers traveling southward in boats on the St. Joseph river. The men were thirty-three in number. They had eight canoes, and they carried with them many heavy articles, such as axes, guns, a blacksmith's anvil and bellows, carpenters' tools, camp appurtenances, and bundles of merchandise to trade with Indians for furs or for food and service.

So far as we know, this was the first entrance of White within our boundaries; and for various reasons the event is one of great interest.

The Sieur (nobleman) Robert Cavelier de la Salle, whose exploits were continental and whose fame is international, was commander of the expedition. With him were the Sieurs Tonty and LaMotte, and the priests Father Louis Hennepin, Father Zenobe Membré, and Father Ribourde. The three sieurs and the three priests were all men of learning and of ability. Tonty (or Tonti) was of Italian ancestry, as his name indicates; but, like all the others, was ardently devoted to the service of the French King.

The principal object of the expedition was to find some connection between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The Spaniard De Soto had discovered and crossed the Mississippi, near the site of Memphis, Tenn., away back in 1541; but he had not followed the course of the river either up or down.

The French, now long settled in eastern Canada, had discovered and explored the Great Lakes. It might be supposed by them that the great river flowed out of one of these and into the Gulf of Mexico, which the Spanish had traversed even be-

fore De Soto's discovery; but neither the origin nor the outlet of the Mississippi was yet positively known.

The explorer Louis Joliet and the missionary Father Jacques (James) Marquette (both Frenchmen) had reached the Mississippi in 1673, six years before this expedition of La Salle, by paddling up the Fox River from Green Bay, then carrying their boats over a short *portage* (carrying place) to the Wisconsin River, and descending that stream; and they had descended the Mississippi itself to the mouth of the Arkansas. Returning northward in the same year, they had turned into the Illinois river, and later into the Des Plaines, which brought them to the vicinity of the Chicago River; and by another short portage along what is now Madison Street in Chicago, they had again reached Lake Michigan.

La Salle was not satisfied with either of these inconvenient portages. He had now passed entirely up to the south end of Lake Michigan, coasting along its western shore; had skirted all the south end of the lake; had turned into the river St. Joseph, and was following up its course, against the current, for he found the river flowing northward. The result was disappointing. It was plain that the great river did not have its source in Lake Michigan.

La Salle's company reached the site of South Bend, and the leading men of the company climbed a hill to survey the surrounding region. A few miles to the southward they beheld the sluggish Kankakee; and amid the falling snow the party carried, with difficulty, all their boats and supplies over this new-found *portage,* and embarked upon that river.

No living thing was in sight. The scene was inexpressibly dreary.

La Salle had spent the month of November at the mouth of the St. Joseph, building a small stockade which he called Fort Miamis, (me-am′-ee) and waiting for reinforcements; and when he passed up the river (beginning on the 3rd of December), he had left four of his thirty-seven men at this post.

The cheerless journey down the Kankakee seems not to

have been relieved by any striking incident. For a long distance the river was so completely hemmed in by a thick growth of brush that there was nothing of scenery to interest the explorers. Indeed, the trees and brush so encroached upon the narrow stream that often there was scarcely room for two of the canoes to pass side by side, and they went in single file. A level, marshy plain extended for miles on either side. The historian of the expedition tells us that the party were hungry for game, which was not often encountered, though they did kill two small deer and a few wild fowls. They became very hungry, and were overjoyed at length to find near the stream, mired fast in the mud, a huge buffalo. The creature was so large that it required the united strength of twelve men to drag its carcass with ropes from the mire. They loaded it upon one of their canoes, and enjoyed many a feast from its fat steaks.

Such was the first recorded entry of White men within our borders.

The advent of the Pilgrims of Plymonth, depicted by artists and sung by poets, is dear to the heart of Massachusetts. No less animated by lofty purpose were the company of La Salle, and no less significant in history was their advent here. The full history of La Salle's great life work is animating to the youths of America, and his story makes a most vivid impression upon those who are familiar with parts of the route over which he passed. Accounts of his arduous toils and marvelous adventures must be sought in other books. To residents of St. Joseph, Laporte, Starke, Porter, Lake, Jasper, and Newton counties, some of the scenes of his voyages and marches are familiar, and these serve to keep in mind the lesson of his great life work.

Early in March of the following year, 1680, La Salle and three White companions appeared at the mouth of the Calumet, having descended that stream to the shore of Lake Michigan, in a strenuous journey back to Canada. With them was a faithful Indian guide, a Mohican, who had accompanied them

from the time they left Fort Miamis in the previous year. They ran along the sandy shore until, at the close of the 24th day of the month, they arrived at the gate of the same fort.

La Salle's company had passed the winter in a fort which they had built on Peoria Lake, in the country of the Illinois Indians; and their leader, filled with anxiety at the failure of expected aids to follow him, determined to return to Ft. Frontenac (now Kingston), in Canada. He did not tarry at Ft. Miamis on his toilsome way.

Again, on the 4th of November of the same year, 1680, he appeared at the latter post, on a second journey to the Illinois country, and immediately passed up the St. Joseph and down the Kankakee, as before. With him were six Frenchmen and an Indian.

Again, on the sixth of the following January, in 1681, while a great comet was blazing in the sky, La Salle sought Ft. Miamis, but he did not ascend the Kankakee. He went by land, probably following the Old Sac Trail.

In the following year, 1682, he brought a company of White men and Indians to the Chicago River, passed with them on the present line of Madison street, Chicago, to where it crosses the Des Plaines, and thence, on the icy surface of that stream, down to the Illinois.

On the 9th of April he reached the mouth of the Mississippi.

In the preceding year, 1681, in the absence of La Salle, Father Hennepin and two French companions had descended the Illinois to the Mississippi, ascended the latter stream to the site of Minneapolis, and given the name of Saint Anthony to the falls in the river at that place.

Through the energy of La Salle, which surmounted every obstacle, the whole region of the Mississippi and its tributaries was now secured to the King of France, by right of discovery; and a vast empire was acquired by the French in America.

CHAPTER III

RED MEN AND WHITE ON THE WABASH

With the new century which began about a score of years after the first complete exploration of the Mississippi by La Salle and his followers, great changes began in the hitherto-silent land which we now call Indiana. Red men came thronging over its boundaries from various directions; White men flitted back and forth, and began to establish trading posts among them.

These changes had special reference to the long river which flows, in an irregular diagonal line in a southwesterly course, from the northeastern part of the State to its furthest point in the southwest. The river is the Wabash, whose name the French wrote *Ouabache.*

In the northeastern part of Indiana, near the present city of Fort Wayne, there is a distance of only about nine miles between the Wabash River and a stream that flows into the Maumee, which discharges into the southwestern extremity of Lake Erie. Looking at the map, one will readily see that the very shortest water route (with portage) from eastern Canada to the lower Mississippi was by way of Lake Erie, the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Ohio. One might easily suppose that the French on the St. Lawrence would discover Lakes Ontario and Erie first of all the Great Lakes, and the Maumee and Wabash route first of all the canoe routes to the Mississippi. But, as Ridpath the historian quaintly observes, History often "does the other thing," and not the thing to be expected. As a matter fact, Lakes Ontario and Erie were the very *last* of the Great Lakes to be discovered, and Lake Huron was the first.

It is not known who first discovered and used the Maumee,

Wabash, and Ohio route to the Mississippi, or when the discovery was made. La Salle, in a letter written in 1682, the year of his great triumph, speaks of this route as known to him, and seems to hint that he had made some use of it. But when? After all, it was not a very desirable route, and more especially on account of the hostilities to be encountered from Indians on the Erie shore.

In the changeful days of the new century, the Miami Indians poured over our northern line. Other Indians came up from below the Ohio River. "By 1718," says J. P. Dunn, "the Miamis, Pepikokias, Piankeshaws, and Ouiatenons had taken substantially the locations they afterwards held in Indiana." The Shawnees did not begin to come from the East until 1745, and then they came but slowly.

Kekionga, the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, is often mentioned as a very old Indian locality, and probably had been a scene of rendezvous and occasional occupation for a long time, on account of its location on a great trail, and its relation to the long portage, of which it seemed to be a sort of guardian.

It was not at Kekionga, however, but far down on the lower Wabash, that the first White settlements in Indiana began. One of these was Vincennes, which claims to have been founded in 1702,* though the accuracy of this date is ques-

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*Even if we were in possession of every fact in the unwritten history of Vincennes, Ouiatenon, and Kekionga, it might still be very difficult to determine when any one of them was "founded," or how "old" it was at a given date. A locality known to somewhat nomadic natives for ages as an occasional rendezvous, then visited at shorter and shorter intervals and for gradually lengthening periods by passing traders and explorers, who perhaps construct, on some visit, a temporary camp (which is gradually made permanent and strong), comes to have as a custodian a White man married to an Indian woman, and ultimately receives a small garrison of defenders. A village grows up about it. At what point of time is such a place "founded"? Probably the earliest date assigned to the founding of each of these old posts is none too early if some latitude is given to the meaning of the words employed in the statement made.

tioned by some critics. It was known for many years simply as the "Poste," and is now the oldest city in the State. Early in the new century, the French were alarmed to find that British traders had access to the Maumee and the upper Wabash, and that they were using every art to establish themselves in friendship with the newly arrived Indians. An accomplished young French nobleman, the Sieur Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, a brother-in-law of Louis Joliet, was sent along the Wabash, to persuade the various tribes to leave the shores of that river and return to their former locations. The Ouiatenons, or Wea (we-aw) Indians, along the central Wabash, refused to remove; and therefore it was determined to erect a French stockade and trading post among them. This was done; and the post, which was established as early as 1720, at least, near the site of the present city of LaFayette, was for generations a place of importance, being often mentioned in old official documents of the French under the name Ouiatenon. Its location was eighteen miles, by the river, below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, which flows into the Wabash.

The Sieur de Vincennes, while on his mission at Kekionga, was taken ill and died there in 1719. His nephew, Francis Morgan, succeeded alike to his title of nobility and to his mission on the Wabash. It is claimed by some that Morgan was really the founder of the French post at Vincennes, and that the post was named not for his uncle, but for a later officer of the same name.

The three ancient settlements on or near the Wabash—Vincennes, Ouiatenon, and Kekionga—were of importance, because the directness of the Maumee, Wabash, and Ohio River route rendered it a very serviceable connection between Canada and the Mississippi; and the route became a much-traveled highway for traders, missionaries, government agents, and others.

Of the three settlements, Post Vincennes was the only one that had any considerable number of White settlers in the eighteenth century, and that was laid off as a town. In 1769

this place contained sixty-six heads of families, fifty women, and one hundred and fifty children. At this time there were but 12 heads of families at Ouiatenon, and only nine at Kekionga. At the latter place there had been more than one stockade erected successively by the French, and called Ft. Miamis;* for the exposed place had been the scene of alternating occupations and abandonments.

Such is the interesting but unsatisfying story of the earliest settlements made in Indiana. Of the three, Vincennes and Kekionga ultimately became permanent cities; while Ouiatenon, though somewhat famous in Colonial times, belongs wholly to the past.

Vincennes, like Kekionga, has a legendary history extending back of its occupation by the French, for it began as an Indian village (Chipkawkay).

The story of the brave men who passed up and down the length of the Wabash, two centuries ago is almost wholly unwritten. It long lived in the legends of fireside and fort; for the Wabash is a storied river, and all along its course was the scene of active life, of ambitious undertakings of devotion to religion and country, of the development of human character in all its phases

The mode of life of the Indians who came to Indiana to live in the eighteenth century was not materially different from that of Indians in other parts of the country. The Indians lived chiefly by hunting. They were not industrious, but they were generally brave. Their villages, while usually temporary and rude, possessed picturesque features. Some of the Indians practiced the old custom of erecting burial mounds above their dead; and remains of this sort, though not two centuries old, have often been mistaken for works of very high antiquity.

There were many intermarriages between the Whites and the Indians. Young and ambitious adventurers from France

*Since both the post on the St. Joseph and the one at Kekionga had the same name (Ft. Miamis), care must be taken to avoid confounding them.

chose wives from Indian tribes, and thus firmly cemented the friendship of the Red men. Far happier than either the English of the Eastern Colonies or the Spanish to the south, were the French of the Mississippi valley in their relations with the Indians, whom they treated not only with humanity and justice, but with refined courtesy on a basis of equality.

CHAPTER IV

OLD FRENCH LIFE IN INDIANA

Vincennes, Ouiatenon, and Kekionga, all on the shortest line from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, had much in common. Explorers, traders, and missionaries were constantly passing up and down the river highways. In 1717 the French laid the foundations of a new capital in the far South, and named it Nouvelle (New) Orleans. In the following year eight hundred French immigrants were to be found in it, and the infant city grew rapidly from that time.

Between the two remote centers of authority, the Wabash settlements seemed central and united. Yet they were to be separated in different jurisdictions. The high land of the Wabash region above Vincennes was called *Terre Haute* (meaning, literally, *high land*), and this was made the division between the authority exercised at Quebec and the authority exercised at New Orleans. Vincennes thus came to be under the direction of the southern commanders, and Ouiatenon and Kekionga under the direction of the northern. The entire region was known as New France.

On the Illinois river and upper Mississippi routes from Quebec to New Orleans, were established many trading posts, of which the ones most important to the Wabash settlements were Kaskaskia and Cahokia, both on the Mississippi (southwest and west of Vincennes) ; and of those on the Great Lakes, Detroit (founded in 1701) was of special importance.

The parish church records of 1727 in Kaskaskia show that in that year "Vinsenne" (the Sieur de Vincennes) and his lieutenant were witnesses of a marriage there; and there is among the civil records of Kaskaskia a deed recorded by the Sieur and his wife in 1735, in which year he is shown to have been commandant at the post which bore his name. There is an unfortunate gap in the parish records of Kaskaskia from 1727 to 1741, but for which we might know much more about the life of the people at Vincennes.

An incident of King George's War was the seizing and burning of the post at Kekionga, and the capture of its garrison of eight men, in 1747, as the result of a wide-spread Indian conspiracy (formed outside of our present borders) for the extermination of the French in the West. The plot failed miserably elsewhere, and the prisoners at Kekionga were soon released by their captors.

In 1749 a permanent church was established at Vincennes, under the charge of Father Meurin. The building was a substantial structure, which was destined to become historic in the American Revolution.

In the next year a more permanent fort replaced the primitive palisade at Vincennes, and within the next five or six years the number of inhabitants grew rapidly by immigration from Canada and from the Louisiana region.

Trade with the Indians, who were now very numerous in Indiana, was a barter for furs. The demand for furs for clothing, in the European markets, was never satisfied. Silver and gold came to the trader in increasing flow, and money was plentiful in the French settlements.

The agriculture of the French was primitive, though every householder had a well-kept vegetable garden. The houses were rude cabins made of logs and of sticks, and roofed often with bark or with thatch. They were heated with fireplaces. Laundering was done in the streams. Wheat bread was plentiful, for mills were common, but butter was rare, for want of churns. Indian corn was generally parched. Mats of

Indian design were to be found upon the floors. Feather pillows were everywhere used, and feather beds were common. Religious pictures adorned the walls. The dress of the people was French, with some touches of Indian fashion.

Books were exceedingly rare in the houses, but there was much writing of official and commercial reports and journals by the men. The persons who were illiterate must not be judged by the intellectual standard of illiterates of today, who are assumed to be both ignorant and dull. In the time when reading and writing were not deemed necessary accomplishments for women,—even for women of high rank and great wealth,—far more attention was given than is given now to conversation as an art, and to cultivation of the memory; broad information, intellectual brightness, and culture in many lines might be the possession of many a person who could make no direct use of books.

The religion was universally Catholic, and the church was the center of social and intellectual interests.

The spirit of the French was characteristically gay and happy, amid all the privations of their time. Games, dancing, and feasting, and the celebrations of weddings, baptisms, etc. with music and display afforded relief from the monotony of simple life. The constant arrival and departure of river parties supplied the people with local news and with tidings from afar.

Much of the picture of French Colonial life presented in Longfellow's poem *Evangeline* will apply, doubtless, to the old French settlements in what is now Indiana, though the description was written of Acadie, or Acadia (Nova Scotia). This part of the poem is peculiarly appropriate as a classic for oral reading in the schools of our State.

If the Indiana student is interested in the poem of *Evangeline,* as describing old French village life in Colonial America in this period, he will be likewise interested in the very famous legend of *Atala,* as told in prose by the French Viscount Chateaubriand, a part of which relates to the Ohio River, on

our southern border*. The destruction of French settlements in the South by the Natches Indians, in 1729, and the destruction of that tribe by the French in the following year (with which that story is connected) are not at all typical of French experiences with Indians generally, but are highly exceptional. The relations between the two races in our own region were very harmonious, and in most respects are pleasing to think upon.

One of the greatest evils in all the French Colonial periods was the sale of strong liquor to the Indians, who were peculiarly susceptible to its demoralization. This sale was contrary to law, and in disregard of the earnest expostulations of the priests.

It was not until 1724 that the King of France undertook to rule the Colonies directly by publishing an ordinance regulating the government, the administration of justice, and the ownership, sale, and treatment of slaves in the settlements made in the "Province of Louisiana." Before that time the control of these settlements had been left chiefly to the Company of the Indies, a great corporation organized for the development of the immense domain. A great "factory," or storehouse, of the Company of the Indies was Fort Chartres, near Kaskaskia, in the Illinois county, with which the interests of Vincennes were closely connected.

The Code of 1724 decreed the expulsion of all Jews from the settlements, under pain of forfeiture of their "bodies and estates." It prohibited the exercise of any religion other than the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church. It specifically recognized Black slaves as property. It did not class them as attached to the soil (as included in real estate), but as personal property, or chattels. The slavery that existed in the old French settlements was of a rather mild type. Slave families

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*Though the legend of *Atala* (older than that of Rip Van Winkle) belongs to the literature of the French, it is native American, and was written in an Indian wigwam in the Gulf region.

must not be separated by sale, even to satisfy a mortgage. Slaves must not be tortured, though they might be whipped. They must not be made to work on Sundays or on holy days. There must be no intermarriage of Blacks and Whites, and the marriage of slaves was as truly sacramental and as inviolable as that of Whites.

Church records and state papers which have been carefully preserved in manuscript form and published in historical collections throw light upon this period, but much that was left to family traditions has been lost through the changes in population. Doubtless there were modest trading posts which had no official name; and there were some traders who kept out of sight of the authorities, in order to escape the heavy license fees required of them by the French government. Some of the old *tassements* (*tassimo*N), or *palissades* (*palissad*), as the French called them, were rude and simple structures of perpendicular logs set close together in the ground. There is a dim legend of such a structure as having existed at a place isolated from the more usual line of travel and on an old trail north of Kankakee, in Porter County, which place is still marked upon maps as "Tassinong," although no village is there to be found today. If this was really the location of an ancient French *tassement* (as the "Frenchy" pronunciation given to the name by the Indians a century ago would seem to indicate), its name is the last remaining use of the old French word in a cartographic way.

A nameless and inconspicuous palisade, the *"petit fort"* (little fort) on the strand of Lake Michigan about a day's march (perhaps twenty miles) west of Michigan City, has left no local legend to indicate its situation, though it is known to have existed in this period. There may be elsewhere in Indiana something of local legend relating to inconspicuous and nameless trading establishments of the old French days.

CHAPTER V

THE END OF THE FRENCH REGIME

The colossal design of the French to hold and develop their vast empire in the heart of North America, while the British were limited to the Atlantic region beyond the Alleghanies in the East, required the utmost devotion, activity, and bravery on the part of the small number of French people who were engaged in carrying it forward.

Theirs was the true heroic age of intense devotion and strong endeavor. But the design was too great to be ultimately successful. The British passed westward over the Alleghanies, and competed for the trade and favor of the Indians.

The inevitable conflict in arms between the British and the French in America began in 1755. It is called in history the French and Indian War, or the Conquest of New France.

In 1758 the French were compelled to give up their fort, called Du Quesne (*dukane*) where the city of Pittsburg now stands. In the next year the great fortress of Quebec was taken by the British, and the rule of France in North America was ended forever.

Peace was not declared, however, until 1763.

The Indians, as a rule, were sincerely attached to the French, though the British sought to win them over with special favors in trade.

After the treaty of peace was concluded, a series of tragedies occurred through the efforts of Pontiac, a very able Indian chief of the Ottawas (in Michigan) to recover the old French posts from the British, who had taken possession of them very generally. Pontiac's conspiracy was far reaching, and was planned with marvelous secrecy and skill. An uprising was to be made simultaneously at all of the French posts.

Within the limits of Indiana the conspiracy was successful for a time. The post on the St. Joseph, north of our line, was surprised and taken from the British commander, Lieut. Schlosser, on the 25th of May in this famous year, 1763. Two days later the post of Kekionga, in command of Ensign Holmes, was taken. The British commander was slain, and his nine soldiers surrendered. Five days later the post at Ouiatenon was captured, its commander, Lieutenant Jenkins, having too small a force to make an effective resistance.

In what is now Michigan, however, even the appalling treachery of Pontiac did not succeed. The great conspiracy ultimately failed.

The treaty of peace, which had been signed on the 10th of February, gave to the British all the French territory east of the Mississippi except the city of New Orleans and its immediate vicinity; and to the Spanish, all the territory which France had claimed west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans.

Pontiac, a broken man, wandered down to Cahokia, where he was killed in a drunken quarrel. His friends, desiring to honor him, and unwilling that his remains should rest in British soil, bore his corpse across the Mississippi with a funeral fleet of canoes, and gave him burial on the top of the bluff beyond. In the same year many French inhabitants of Cahokia followed the dead leader, and took up their residence across the river, forming a new village, which took the name of Saint Louis. Thus was founded the great city of that name.

Over the grave of Pontiac was eventually erected the Southern Hotel of St. Louis, and he is commemorated today by a tablet on the inner wall of that edifice. Saint Louis was thus, in its origin and during all its Colonial period, a town of French people under the Spanish flag and under Spanish control. It is necessary to know this fact in order to understand later events of Revolutionary War history relating to the region within the present boundaries of Indiana.

Even French geographical names in Saint Louis (such as Carondelet) came to be officially pronounced in a phonetic way by the Spanish rulers of the young city, who did not bother themselves to learn the mysteries of French pronunciation; and the clock face cut in stone over the oldest church bore the Roman numerals IV for *four,* in Spanish fashion, instead of IIII, which was the form used by the French on the faces of timepieces.

THE BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD

1763—1777

CHAPTER VI

BRITISH RULE IN INDIANA

British officers had succeeded the French officers in the Wabash posts, as we have seen, before the conclusion of the treay of peace. After the brief successes of Pontiac's conspiracy in what is now Indiana, the British regained possession of these posts, and their officers were more watchful and determined than ever before.

British traders now passed up and down the Wabash, and because they had the favor and influence of the British officers, they naturally had greatly the advantage of the French traders.

It must be said that the British commanders and traders sought to be just to both the Indian and the French inhabitants, and to treat them without marked unkindness, and this was a very important consideration; but the British could never take the place of the French of the former time. British traders did not marry Indian girls, as French traders had often done on terms of perfect equality. They were dignified and distant, whereas the French and been graceful and engaging in manner. They did not share in the religious faith of the conquered peoples. They spoke a language that was foreign to the inhabitants.

Thus while the people of the settlements learned to respect the British and to rely upon their promises, there was never the same spirit of sympathy between them as had characterized the relations of the people and their rulers in the old days.

For a dozen years, between the beginning of British control and the Revolutionary War, there is little of incident recorded in the story of the old French settlements of Indiana. The government was conducted from Detroit, where the Lieutenant-Governor resided, and his jurisdiction included Vincennes, as well as all the other settlements within our present borders.

In the year 1765, we are told, the Miami Indians included four tribes, whose total military strength was one thousand and fifty men. Of these, two hundred and fifty were the Twightwees, or Miamis in the strict sense, who resided at and near Kekionga; three hundred were Weas, living at and near Ouiatenon; three hundred were Piankeshaws, who dwelt at and near Vincennes; and two hundred were Shockeys, whose villages were on the shores of the Vermillion River.

To the inhabitants of this region it must soon have become apparent that the British in America were divided among themselves; for the British Colonies soon became involved in an angry controversy with the mother country concerning the taxing of the Colonists for the payment of the debt incurred in conducting the late war. As time went on, hostility and defiance were boldly manifested by the Colonists beyond the Alleghanies, and events rapidly drifted towards war.

The officers and traders of this region were in sympathy with the British government; and even if they had not been reticent from habit, they would not have discussed such matters with the people, since to do this would awaken popular distrust in reference to their power.

While the inhabitants, both White and Red, were not sentimentally attached to the British whom they knew, there seemed to be no reason why they should favor other Colonists, likewise British, distant and unknown, if war should come.

Any such reasoning left out of account the personal element; and individuals of strong personality were destined to play a prominent part in the Revolution in the West. It also failed to take in consideration the ardent love of the French Colonists for the French nation, and the influence of tidings that France was sympathizing with the Colonists in their struggle with the British power.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

1777—1783

CHAPTER VII

EARLIEST MOVEMENTS IN INDIANA

For a year after the beginning of the Revolution by the British Colonies of the Atlantic Coast, there was little to suggest, in what is now Indiana, that a war was waging in the East.

The British Lieutenant-Governor at Detroit was directed (March 26, 1776) to employ the Indians "in making a diversion and exciting an alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania." Virginians had become pioneers in what is now Kentucky; and the Indians of our region, supplied with British arms and influenced by men in the pay of the British officers, were incited to make raids upon such settlers.

In the spring of 1777 an Indian chief named Cornstalk, his son, and two other tribesmen, were detained as hostages by American frontiersmen at a fort built at the mouth of the great Kanawha, on the Ohio River, and hostilities began, in which the four Indians were killed. From this time there were acts of violence directed against the White settlers south of the Ohio.

Early in October of that year a small force of Colonials of the West marched over the Old Sac Trail through the prairie land now comprising the counties of Lake, Porter, Laporte, and St. Joseph, to attack the British post on the St. Joseph River, a little north of our present State line. They were from the old French village of Cahokia, nearly opposite St. Louis, on the Mississippi, and the neighboring settlement of Prairie du Pont. There were only sixteen in the company, which was led by Thomas Brady, a brave and daring man, a native of Pennsylvania, who had lived for some time among the French villagers and had acquired influence over them. He appears to have been *the first Revolutionary leader west of the Alleghanies.*

That this ardent young American of Irish stock should thus awaken the spirit of revolution among the peaceful villagers of a sleepy old river town of the Illinois region, and secure followers for so hazardous an expedition, was due to a variety of causes. The aid given by France to the new American Republic was doubtless one of these. But the personality of the leader must have been the principal factor.

The raid was successful, at first. The British post was taken by surprise, with no loss of life except that a Negro, a fugitive slave whom the British had harbored, and who attempted to escape from the fort, was shot and killed. Brady's men seized the portable property at the fort, and started to return to Cahokia over the trail.

At the Calumet River they were overtaken by about three hundred British, Canadians, and Indians, and were captured. Two of Brady's men were instantly killed, and two others were wounded. Twelve of the men, including Brady himself, were taken to Canada as prisoners. There they were detained two years, with the exception of Brady, who managed to effect his escape, fled to Pennsylvania, and subsequently returned to Cahokia.

In the spring of the following year a second expedition, with the design of repeating Brady's exploit, passed over the

trail. It was led by Paulette Maillet* (or Maize), and consisted of three hundred volunteers from Cahokia, St. Louis and the region about Peoria Lake. These Colonists were successful. The fort was captured, and the victors secured a store of furs and other valuables, and returned home in haste. On their way they felt compelled to despatch one of their number who was so badly wounded as to impede their march and endanger their whole party.

Indiana's connection with the Revolution thus begins with the northwestern part, and with the Old Sac Trail. The ancient highway is to us not merely a relic of ancient Indian life. It is associated in the mind with these and other events of the great struggle of the Americans for independence, and with some events of the War of 1812, as we shall see later.

Occurrences were now to take place in the river regions of the Wabash and of the Ohio, which were ultimately of great significance, and which have special prominence in the Revolutionary story of the west.

In June of the same year, 1778, a green island in the Ohio River was occupied by a force of Virginians under Col. George Rogers Clark, who had descended the river from Pittsburg and Wheeling, bearing a commission from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia authorizing him to defend the Kentucky settlements. Clark's design was to assume the aggressive, and to seize the forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. So daring a scheme did not commend itself to many Kentuckians whom he had hoped to have coöperate with him, for they deemed it their duty to remain and defend their homes. With the followers whom he had enrolled chiefly in Virginia, he started down the river from his island camp on the twenty-fourth of June. At the very hour of a notable eclipse of the sun, he shot the falls of the river in safety, having left nearly all his baggage in a rude fortification which he had erected on the island and committed to the care of a few White families.

Post Vincennes was at this time a place of considerable im-

*Pronounced may-yay'.

portance. The British had strengthened the old fort, and mounted cannon upon it; and they had christened it Fort Sackville. The White inhabitants of the town made up a force of nearly four hundred militia, whom the British Lieutenant-Governor might call upon at any time to aid his regular soldiers. Vincennes seemed to be secure to the British. The British commandant, in fact, was believed by the Kentucky settlers to have paid the Red man liberally for scalps, as evidences of the murder of families on the frontier.

The French possessed great influence over the Indians, of whom there were many living in the old village adjoining the town, and large numbers were to be found continually in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLUTION AT VINCENNES

The year 1778 should be ever memorable to the people of Indiana as the one in which, by the voluntary act of the people of its principal settlement, its fortunes were cast with the American Republic.

Having some matters to attend to in Detroit, the British Lieutenant-Governor (Abbott), who had been at Vincennes, went northward in the summer with the small force that he had, leaving the town and fort in charge of the militia. When departing, he urged upon them the necessity for keeping a close watch for any movements on the part of other people south of the Ohio, through Indian spies, and for retaining the favor of the Indians around about.

It was the unexpected that happened. A great surprise came from another direction. In the month of July the town was thrown into great excitement. Father Gibault and Doctor Lafont, beloved priest and physician, well known to the people, arrived with some companions from Kaskaskia, with a marvelous story and an amazing proposition.

Kaskaskia had been surprised by Clark's force on the night

of the Fourth of July. The town was completely surrounded, to prevent any escape from it, and the leading citizens were put in irons. The priest had gone to Clark, to beg that, on being deported, they might not be separated from their wives and children, though they expected to give up their possessions. Colonel Clark had then assured the priest that no confiscation of goods or deportation of persons was contemplated; that the purpose of the expedition was simply to drive out the British employers of savages; that the young American Confederation was now in alliance with France, and would respect their religion, and guard all their rights.

As a result, the priest declared, the people of Kaskaskia *had taken the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia.* More than that, they had formed a military company, which, under command of Captain Bowman, one of Clark's men, had gone to Cahokia. That village, already concerned for more than a year in the same cause, *had likewise taken the oath of allegiance to Virginia.*

Doctor Lafont corroborated the story of the priest. The leading men of Vincennes were now prepared to read an address which the distinguished emissaries had brought from Colonel Clark, and which advised the French inhabitants to throw off the British yoke and become citizens of Virginia.

With greatest enthusiasm the people responded to the invitation. A few friends of the British Governor there were, who left the country precipitately. They were doubtless in his pay.

The citizens then went in a body to the old church, where with great solemnity the oath of allegiance was administered to them. Then the magnificent hymn *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung amid general rejoicing.

The militia was now reorganized by popular election. The American flag was unfurled over the fort, and every vestige of British dominion was removed. Thenceforth the people of the town considered themselves American citizens, and with conscious pride deported themselves as such.

About the middle of August Captain Leonard Helm, one of Clark's men, arrived from Kaskaskia to assume command of the fort and to cultivate the friendship and secure the alliance of the Indians so far as possible. This officer, an experienced man past the middle of life, was received with great acclaim by the Revolutionists at Vincennes. He secured the coöperation of "The-Great-Door-to-the-Wabash," son of "The Tobacco," which odd names designated influential chiefs of the vicinity; and chiefs of more remote tribes, including some from Ouiatenon, came to Vincennes to confer with him. Even as far as our northern border line, the Indians were influenced in favor of the American cause.

In October the Legislature of Virginia recognized as belonging to that State all citizens of the country west or northwest of the Ohio River, and designated this vast region *Illinois County*.

But before the new "county" could be organized, an event occurred which was exceedingly ominous to the American cause in the West.

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, with a force of about thirty regular soldiers and four hundred Indians, suddenly descended the Wabash, and appeared at the fort of Vincennes.

There was no opportunity to organize effective resistance. In fact, at the time when this formidable force marched to the fort there were but two men in it. These were Captain Helm and a private named Henry. The British commander beheld the fort gate open. In it was a mounted cannon, which had been wheeled to command the only approach, and which was loaded almost to the muzzle. Henry was pointing it, and the captain stood by with a lighted torch in his hand.

The British drew steadily nearer.

"Halt!" cried Captain Helm, when they had arrived within hail. His command, given in a loud voice, was heeded.

"I demand the surrender of your garrison," shouted the British commander.

"Never, till I know the terms," cried Captain Helm with decision.

"You shall have the honors of war," was the assurance given by the Lieutenant-Governor; and thus the fort, with its garrison of two men, surrendered. The American flag was hauled down, and the American hope of acquiring the West seemed almost extinguished. For whence could any aid be expected? Clark's position at Kaskaskia was one of great peril, for the British expected to receive from Detroit, in the spring, whatever aid might be needed to recover the full possession of the West.

A prominent merchant of St. Louis, Colonel Francis Vigo, coming to Vincennes in the winter as a spy for Colonel Clark, in whom he had become iterested, was seized and held a prisoner by the British commander until the French inhabitants, with threats, demanded his release. Vigo, as a man of honor, might have been released before, on parole, had he given his word not to aid the Virginians. He now gave the promise, to last only till he should return to St. Louis. This promise he kept; but he tarried at St. Louis only a few minutes, to change his clothes and obtain some supplies, then at once went to Kaskaskia to aid the Virginia commander. For this and subsequent great services he deserves the gratitude of our country. Vigo County is named in his honor.

"Faithful, patriotic Father Gibault" was subsequently excommunicated by the Bishop of Quebec for his action in opposition to the British, and suffered a loss of property through his attachment to the popular cause.

Utterly desperate seemed the Patriot cause in the West at this time, and the fond hopes that had been based upon the new order of things were wholly eclipsed.

CHAPTER IX

THE SURRENDER OF FORT SACKVILLE

On the twenty-third of February, 1779, a young man of Vincennes, who had been hunting at some distance, rode furiously into the town with tidings of an approaching army, and posted up in a conspicuous place the following proclamation:

> TO THE INHABITANTS OF POST VINCENNES
>
> Gentlemen:
>
> Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens, and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer general and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep off the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat as enemy. G. R. CLARK.

The proclamation was read aloud, and there was much suppressed excitement. Eyes were strained to see the advance of the soldiers; but they chose to advance behind a low rise of ground, and it was impossible to tell their numbers. Their banners could be seen, however, over the ridge, and officers on horseback, wheeling about on the higher ground, directing the long line of marchers.

The people of the village did not know that this was a ruse of Clark to make his numbers seem far greater than they were; that he had come with his half-frozen, half-starved band on one of the most perilous marches in American history; that his force numbered but one hundred and seventy men, who, without provisions and without horses, had marched since the seventh of February through the icy waters of overflowed

lands; that the horses of his officers had just been captured from French hunters in the vicinity, and the flags which had served for wrappings about his freezing men had but just been raised upon their long poles. About two dozen of the flags, at long intervals, could be counted as they passed; and it seemed that a large force was at hand. Not until nightfall did the troop come into the village, and then it was impossible for their number to be known.

At eight o'clock the heights of the town were reached, the best positions taken, and Lieutenant Bayley was sent with fourteen men to open fire on the fort.

At the fort, strange to say, the advance of the army had not been noted at all; and even when the firing began, it was at first supposed to be merely the salute of some drunken Indians, until a soldier was laid low by a well-aimed rifle shot which passed through a porthole. In the fort were Captain Helm and some prisoners recently taken by the British, on suspicion, including a citizen named Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry was admitted to the fort, ostensibly to carry some provisions to her husband, and the news was confided to all the prisoners.

Clark's ammunition was nearly exhausted; but the French produced for him stores of powder and shot which they had buried to prevent its confiscation by the British. The Tobacco's son came to Clark with a number of warriors, and offered their services, which were thankfully held in reserve.

Clark's men, reinforcing Lieutenant Bayley, completely surrounded the fort in the darkness, sheltering themselves behind convenient objects, and poured a volley into every embrasure that was opened. The cannon of the fort, mounted upon the upper floors of strong block houses at the corners, proved very ineffective, except that they shattered some buildings in the village. The garrison were bewildered by the firing from all directions; by the varying and freakish activity in different quarters, in the darkness; by the noisy demonstrations made now here, now there. No effective return fire could be made from the fort at the unseen foe. Through the

whole night and until nine o'clock on the following morning the firing was kept up incessantly, with the exception of a single interval of fifteen minutes.

Captain LaMotte, of the garrison, had been absent from the fort, and now returned to it with a few followers. He was permitted by Clark's men to reach the fort. Ropes were flung down to him and his men, and they ascended the walls.

Colonel Clark sent a soldier with a flag to the fort, with this letter to the commandant:

> Sir:
>
> In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself with all of your garrison, stores, etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town; for, by Heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. G. R. CLARK.

The polished British commander returned the following reply:

> "Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects."

All day till evening the firing continued. Then a messenger came with a flag from the fort, to propose a truce for three days.

This was declined. Colonel Clark would make no terms other than surrender at discretion; but he readily agreed to a conference. The commanders met at the church. Clark frankly explained to the astonished Briton his reason for giving no terms. He was not anxious for a peaceable transfer of the fort, for he would be really glad to storm it and thus

have an excuse for putting to death the very men who were then with the Lieutenant-Governor, for their crime of inciting the massacre of innocent families by cruel Indians.

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton deemed it best to surrender, and agreed to do so on the following morning, the twenty-fifth of February. On that day the surrender was effected, and Clark sent up the river sixty men, who seized seven British boats loaded with provisions and valuable goods, and manned by about forty men. The boat company were taken by surprise. The stores were worth about fifty thousand dollars, and were captured without the firing of a single gun. The heroes of this expedition were Captain Helm, Major Busseron, and Major Le Gras.

Thus disappeared forever the British flag from the Wabash region.

The fort at Vincennes was later named Fort Knox.

Colonel George Rogers Clark has been called the Hannibal of the West. He is Indiana's greatest hero of the Revolutionary era. His statue, in bronze, to-day adorns the Governor's circle in Indianapolis.

CHAPTER X

LAST SCENES OF THE WAR IN INDIANA

The scene of Revolutionary activity now shifts to the north end of the State, where it began with the expeditions of Brady and Maillet.

About the first of November, 1780, a party of seventeen men, recruited from Cahokia and commanded by Jean Baptiste Hamelin, advanced over the Indian trail to attack the British post on the St. Joseph, which had been captured twice before by Frenchmen of the old Mississippi River town. Hamelin was acting under the direction of a French officer, De la Balme, who was now in the service of Virginia, and who had electrified the people of the Illinois country with

promises that he would capture Detroit, and with appeals to their French spirit of nationality. For himself, he would first take the British post at Kekionga.

While Hamelin thus departed before De la Balme, he proceeded very leisurely. He learned that the Indians about St. Joseph would be absent on their annual hunt in December. They were on the side of the British, who took good care to secure their support by substantial benefits.

It was not until December had opened that the small body of Frenchmen under Hamelin made their descent upon the British post, in which British traders were gathered. The attack, carefully planned, was successful. The small garrison and the traders were captured, with a large amount of plunder. The British prisoners were told that they must be taken to the Chicago River. The stores of valuable furs and of goods for the Indian trade were loaded upon pack horses, and the twenty-two prisoners were forced to march. The route followed the beach of Lake Michigan, which afforded a smooth pathway broken only by the few streams which flow into the lake from between sand hills. Trail Creek (now the harbor of Michigan City) was passed in safety, and the company continued for about twenty miles westward along the shore, to the nameless little palisade which had been erected but which had not appeared on maps.

Here they were overtaken by a pursuing force of fierce Pottawattamies commanded by Lieutenant De Quindre, a Frenchman in the service of the British. A fierce fight ensued. The little force of Hamelin was overwhelmed. Fourteen of the men were killed or captured, and only three made their escape to tell the tale.

Meanwhile De la Balme had gone to Kaskaskia and to Vincennes, and had proceeded up the Wabash River route all the way to the British post of Kekionga. With him were French and Indians, about eighty in number. Early in November he reached the post, and by a daring movement captured it. Detroit was the next objective point in his plans,

which seem to have been ably formed. However, these were not destined to be realized. De la Balme's force was surprised and overwhelmed by a fierce attack of Indians attached to British interests. De la Balme himself was slain.

Colonel George Rogers Clark next planned to carry out the scheme of De la Balme to take Detroit, and thus to destroy any claim of possession that the British might urge at the close of the war.

But he was destined never to give this finishing stroke to the British power in the West.

His preparations were made for an advance in 1781, but he was disconcerted by the loss of a part of his force, under Colonel Archibald Lochrey, which was destroyed by a famous Indian trader on the British side, named Joseph Brant, at a place where the Ohio River, forming a part of Indiana's eastern boundary, receives the waters of Loughery Creek. Lochrey's brave party were captured, but only after more than a third of their number had fallen.

Instead of proceeding against Detroit, Colonel Clark marched, with one thousand and fifty men, against the Indian towns along the Miami River, a little beyond the eastern boundary of our State.

The last marches along the Old Sac Trail in the war of the Revolution were made in 1781. Despite the reverses which had attended the expeditions of Brady, De la Balme, and Hamelin, the inhabitants of the French villages of the West were ready again to take the trail for a final attack upon the British post on the St. Joseph, this time under the leadership of a Spanish officer of St. Louis.

Captain Don Eugenio Pourre,* with a company of sixty five villagers and sixty Indians, passed over the trail, having left St. Louis on the day after New Year's in 1781. He proudly bore the Spanish flag, and his expedition was in the interests of the Spanish power, to which Saint Louis then belonged. As the Spanish were then at war with Great Brit-

*Pronounced poor-ray'.

ain, his movement was not at all offensive to the patriots of our own region. He seemed, indeed, an ally. His enterprise was successful. The British post was captured now for the fourth time within four years. The British traders at the post fell into the hands of the Spanish captain. The Spanish occupation, however, lasted but a short time.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to General Washington, in the same year, there was a waiting period in the East; for peace seemed near, and only its terms were to be settled.

However, the year 1782 was characterized by a succession of horrors in the districts to the east and south of Indiana, though the population here was little disturbed.

An Indiana writer in the early history of our State hazarded the conjecture that but for the heroic campaign of George Rogers Clark the western boundary of the United States at the close of the war might have been fixed at the Alleghenies, and not at the Mississippi. This is a reasonable supposition so far as it relates to the shores of the Ohio, which the Virginians continued to hold; but as to the great Northwest, which the United States secured when peace was made, it would seem that the series of seizures of the British post on the St. Joseph destroyed any claim by the British of continuous possession, and thus lent strong argument to the peace commissioners for its retention by the Americans. Surely the movements of the brave leaders in the Northwest were not in vain.

THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

1784—1816

CHAPTER XI

A PART OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

While the land comprised now in Indiana was included in the vast western region recognized by Great Britain, in the treaty of 1883, as belonging to the United States, it was by no means clear to what individual States it belonged. Virginia claimed all of the land west and northwest of Pennsylvania, to the Mississippi and the Canadian line, as well as the area of the present State of Kentucky. But Connecticut claimed, by virtue of its old charter, an east-and-west strip which would cut off about a third from the north end of the present Indiana, and other States put forth claims to other parts of the great Northwest.

In a spirit of patriotic sacrifice, these States ceded their claims to the Confederation of the United States (for this was before the formation of the "more perfect Union" under the Constitution), in 1784. Jeffersonville, known as the earliest "American" settlement in Indiana, began in the same year. Three years later, a plan was prepared for the organization and government of the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River" (or "Northwest Territory," as it was most commonly called).

The law by which the Congress of the Confederation accomplished this was called an Ordinance, and was passed in 1787. It was a marvelous and masterly piece of work, and has been praised by all who have read it and seen the great and enduring results which were destined to follow its enactment.

Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, once said that this Ordinance "belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution;" that it "is one of the three title

deeds of American liberty." Abraham Lincoln, in his speeches before the war, referred to it constantly as the precedent set by the fathers of the Republic to limit the expansion of slavery; and when he was accused of being radical in his attitude towards that institution, he insisted that he was truly *conservative* in following that early precedent. Others have called special attention to the declaration of the Ordinance concerning popular education. Daniel Webster compared the Ordinance to the work of the greatest "lawgivers of antiquity," mentioning Solon and Lycurgus.

The two clauses of this great document which are most frequently cited are Articles Three and Six.

Article Three declares that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Article Six ordains that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory, otherwise than in punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted;" and these words were used in framing the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, seventy-nine years later, in 1866.

The plan for surveying the public lands in the great Territory had been adopted two years before, in 1785. So admirable was it that it has been applied to all subsequent surveys to the present time. The land was to be divided into square *sections,* each containing (as nearly as possible) one square mile; and a large square, containing thirty-six of these sections, was to form another new denomination in land measure, the Congressional *township* (which must not be confounded with the civil township).

The Northwest Territory was not expected or intended to endure long as a political division. As a matter of fact, it lasted only thirteen years. But the basic principles of the Ordinance were designed to last forever.

Major John Hamtramk, being in military command at

Vincennes in 1787, performed a wise act in prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians. This evil had gone on, with little or no check, from the early Colonial days, despite the protest of the priests that it impaired and sometimes ruined all their work.

In the following year, 1788, General Arthur St. Clair, who was now Governor of the Northwest Territory, with his capital at Marietta (O.), arrived at Vincennes and organized civil government there, appointing judges and leaving copies of laws of the Territory.

During the next six years there were conflicts with the Indians, calling for various expeditions of American troops, some of which were attended with great disaster. The latter occurred without the limits of our State.

In 1791 General Charles Scott, with about eight hundred volunteers of Kentucky, picked men and mounted on superior horses, made a rapid dash from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Ouiatenon. That place then contained about seventy houses, well finished and furnished for that day, and was inhabited chiefly by the French, who were under the influence of Detroit (then still held by the British, though it belonged to the United States).

While burning Ouiatenon and various Indian towns, destroying stores, and sending some prisoners eastward, Scott displayed much forbearance and humanity. He started to return on the fourth of June, and in ten days reached the Ohio.

This brilliant exploit is remembered by the popular legend that the famous blue grass of Kentucky was then an Indiana grass, on which the cavalry horses fed with the keenest relish, and that it was accidentally carried into Kentucky by this raid, there to become associated in the mind of the world with the superb horses of the "Blue Grass Region."

Later in the season, a similar expedition was successfully made by General James Wilkinson against the Indian towns on the Eel River, and returned upon the track made by Scott's force.

Both of these movements were brilliantly successful, and in the strongest contrast with the awful defeats which came to expeditions of General Harmer and Governor St. Clair, beyond our eastern line, in 1790 and 1791.

General Anthony Wayne, a Revolutionary soldier, succeeded St. Clair, and for three years prepared to deal the Indians a decisive blow. In 1794, in a series of engagements upon the Maumee, the Indians were routed with great loss. The property of an intriguing agent of the British was destroyed before his eyes. General Wayne was called "Mad Anthony," because of the terror which he inspired in the defeated and fleeing Indians. He is said to have sworn to them that if ever again they should raise their hands against the United States, though he were dead, he would rise from his grave to destroy them.

Wayne pushed on to Kekionga, and selected the site for a new fort, the last of the series of fortifications erected at this noted place. Col. John F. Hamtramk built the fort, and it was named in honor of Wayne, the greatest military hero in the history of the Northwest Territory.

CHAPTER XII

THE TERRITORY OF INDIANA

Indiana was the name bestowed by Congress upon the vast remnant of the Northwest Territory when Ohio was detached from the southeastern portion in 1800.

As a Latinized and feminine derivative of the word *Indian* it was not new, having been given to a Pennsylvania town which became somewhat conspicuous in Revolutionary days. Its meaning, "Land of the Indian," was very appropriate in the days when the Territory so named included large tracts which Indians had inhabited from time immemorial. Oddly enough, it now designates a State whose area was not the home of Indians when first visited by the white man.

The first Governor of the great Territory was William Henry Harrison, son of that Benjamin Harrison who was three times Governor of Virginia and who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. John Gibson, a native of Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary of the Territory. There was at first no Legislative body. Three Territorial Judges were appointed to adopt laws, as well as to apply them in decisions.

Vast as was the area of the inchoate commonwealth, its White population was estimated to be actually less than five thousand (4,875). Vincennes, claiming almost a century of age, was the capital. The western boundary was the Mississippi, which was then supposed to have its origin north of the line of British America. Even this imperial domain was soon to be extended.

In the same year, 1800, Spain by a secret treaty ceded to France all of the old Province of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, though it remained under the control of its Spanish officers, and few of its inhabitants suspected that they were not still, in theory, subjects of the King of Spain.

In 1803 the United States purchased the entire Province; and in the following year St. Louis was turned over to the American authorities. To make the transfer clear, the Spanish flag of red and yellow in that town was lowered, and the French tricolor raised to float for a single day; then this was lowered, and the Stars and Stripes were raised. Thus for only a single day in all its history was the thoroughly-French town of St. Louis under the French flag.

In order that there might be no interval of confusion while a plan of government for the new accession was in preparation, all of the old Province that lay north of Latitude 30 degrees, under the name of the District of Louisiana, was attached to the government of the Territory of Indiana and so remained until 1805.

In that year the Southern Peninsula of Michigan was cut off Indiana Territory by an east and west line touching

the extreme southern limit of Lake Michigan. In this line of division lurked much of unsuspected evil for the future.

In 1809 Indiana Territory was again divided, this time by the Wabash River and a line running due north of Vincennes to the Canadian line. The new Territory to the west was called Illinois; and Indiana, as a Territory, was reduced to the present limits of the State, except that its northern boundary line was fated to undergo some readjustment long afterwards. Part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan was still nominally connected with Indiana Territory, but it received no attention.

It was well that the Territory had an able Governor, for there were many knotty problems to be solved, with little of past experience as a guide to the Executive.

The problem of slavery or freedom was one of these. The slaves of old French families continued their service under the old French law, but the prohibition of slavery by the Ordinance of 1787 prevented the importation of slaves from without. Immigrants from the South desired to bring their slaves with them when coming to Indiana; and in 1802 Governor Harrison called a convention of delegates, popularly chosen, to consider measures for the repeal or suspension of that prohibition in the famus Ordinance.

The convention met in Vincennes, in December, the Governor presiding. A petition was sent to Congress to repeal or suspend the prohibitive clause. But Congress, influenced by "Randolph of Roanoke" (Va.), himself a slaveholder, refused to comply with it.

The law was long evaded, however, by means of "indentures," or voluntary agreements made by servants to serve masters in Indiana; and even as late as 1830, fourteen years after Indiana had become a free State, there were still at Vincennes thirty-two slaves. This fact shows the extreme difficulty of eradicating slavery after it has been introduced in anv community.

Governor Harrison in 1804 issued a proclamation forbid-

ding the removal of any indentured persons to a slave State, where they might be sold into perpetual bondage; and such slavery as existed in the Territory was very limited and very mild.

In the same year the Governor proclaimed that the Territory had passed into the second grade of government, and called for the election of members of a Territorial House of Representatives.

The first election of such officers was held on the third of January, 1805, and seven Representatives were chosen. The Governor appointed a Legislative Council of five members, from ten persons named by the House.

Among the greatest services of Governor Harrison to the Territory, and in fact to the Nation, were the treaties which he concluded with Indian tribes, securing from them large concessions of land. His addresses to the Indians possessed a dignity and formality which cause them to sound strange to us to-day. But the Indians were then numerous and strong in Indiana, and the Whites were not in a position to treat them with levity.

An important conference with the Indians in 1802 was held at Vincennes, for the settlement of terms for the cession of certain lands. In 1803, 1804, and 1805 were concluded important land-purchase treaties at the same place; and Vincennes came to possess the dignity of a capital in which grave councils deliberated on matters of great importance to all the future of an imperial domain. A notable treaty was signed also at Ft. Wayne in 1803, another at St. Louis in 1804, and still another at Grouseland (near Vincennes) in 1805.

A code of revised statutes was adopted by the second General Assembly, or Legislature, in 1807. It was a highly creditable body of laws. The common law of Great Britain, with some exceptions, was made the law of Indiana.

The Vincennes University, the Borough of Vincennes, the town of Jeffersonville, and the Wabash Baptist Church were all incorporated in that year.

The dignity and responsibility of the Governor's office were not underestimated by the incumbent. He resided in a large and well-appointed mansion. His demeanor was grave. He impressed the Red men with his presence and with his words.

In an office which would possess little attraction for the politician of to-day, he proved his greatness, and laid the foundations of a fame which ultimately carried his name throughout the civilized world.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE

The Territory of Indiana in 1805 began to be moved by a religious delusion of the Shawnee Indians in what is now Delaware County. Lawlewasika (The Loud Voice), a brother of the chief Tecumseh, began to call himself The Open Door, and to assume the character of a prophet. Claiming to have the power of giving life or death to others, and of speaking as the mouthpiece of the Great Spirit, he declaimed against witchcraft, the use of intoxicants, and intermarriages with White people; and he drew to him many followers, despite the Governor's efforts to check the delusion.

The brothers removed to Ohio, and then to the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, where an Indian settlement came to receive the name of The Prophet Town. Here the Prophet gathered about him representatives of many tribes, drawn by his growing fame. Tecumseh, meanwhile, displayed a spirit of broad nationality among the Indians, and held that no tribe, acting individually, had a right to sell lands to the Whites.

In August of 1808 the venerated prophet, now a man of wide and strong influence, visited Vincennes, and for two weeks held conferences with the Governor. Similar confer-

ences were held in the following year, and the Governor became impressed with the idea that British intrigue was at work inciting both of the brothers to hostility against the Whites. When in September, 1809, the Governor concluded at Ft. Wayne an important treaty for the purchase of lands by the United States, Tecumseh was very angry; and in August of the following year, at a conference with the Governor at Vincennes, he boldly declared that he would resist the occupation of such lands by the Whites.

Among the Indians upon whom the Governor relied to check the schemes of the brothers was Winamac, a leader of the Pottawattamies, in whose honor a city of this State is named. This friend of the Whites was of great servic to the Government.

It was an ominous fact that the Indians of the Prophet's Town in 1810 refused the annual distribution of salt from the Governor. In the following August, accompanied by a retinue of warriors, Tecumseh held a conference for ten days with the Governor at Vincennes, in which the latter was eloquently defied. The Governor's guard came forward, and the council fire was extinguished, Tecumseh being sternly ordered to leave. He sought and obtained another interview, to little purpose.

At a third conference, in 1811, which is highly historic, Tecumseh appeared with a company of three hundred Indians; but he now professed friendship, and a disposition to settle with the President, at Washington, any matters of dispute.

The crafty leader, however, was planning to create a very wide confederacy of the Indians; and he descended the river and passed down to Tennessee, which had been for fifteen years a State in the Union, but which still contained large bodies of Indians. On leaving, he forbade the Prophet to begin any hostilities, intending that the Governor should be lulled into a feeling of security until all the plans for a wide-reaching conspiracy should unite such forces of Red men as would completely subdue the settlers of the West. His was the great

dream of Pontiac, which, nearly half a century before, had led that able chieftain to his ruin.

The Federal Government placed at the disposal of the Governor the Fourth Regiment of its Infantry, which was under command of Col. John P. Boyd; and Harrison, while determined to maintain peace if possible, was equally determined upon a policy of thorough preparedness. He inaugurated an armed but peaceful march through the northern part of the Territory, in which the White inhabitants were few, and in which the greatest danger lay.

The force consisted of about nine hundred and ten men, of whom about six hundred were militia, composed of citizens of the Territory. About two hundred and seventy men were on horseback.

The march began on the twenty-sixth of September, 1811. A week later the army encamped at a place a little to the north of the site of the present city of Terre Haute. Here a fort was built, and was completed before the end of October. It received the name of Fort Harrison, at the unanimous request of the Governor's officers. The place is one of historic interest to the people of Indiana, for it is connected with the fame of two men who served, long afterwards, as Presidents of the United States; moreover, it was the scene of a legendary conflict between the Illinois and Iroquois Indians in a far-off time.

A small fortress, consisting of a single blockhouse, was also erected farther up the Wabash, two miles below the mouth of the Big Vermillion River, to protect the boats of transport; and nine men were left to guard it as the column moved onward, towards the Prophet's Town. When this was nearly reached, there were some demonstrations of hostile feeling upon the part of the Indians; but these men were assured that the army desired only a good place for encampment, where both wood and water might be abundant. Such a place was pointed out by the Indians, and the since-famous "Battle

Ground" was chosen for the purpose. It lies a few miles to the northeast of the present city of LaFayette.

To guard against a surprise, the army encamped in battle order, all of the soldiers remaining dressed and accoutred, their bayonets fixed, and their guns and pistols loaded; and the injunction was given to hold the outer lines at all hazards in case of a night attack. While this extraordinary care seemed to have been unnecessary as the long night wore away in silence, it saved the army from destruction. The front and rear lines of infantry were not parallel, and were separated by perhaps two hundred and fifty feet at their nearest approach. Between them lay the camp.

The Governor rose at a quarter past four o'clock (and in two minutes the reveille would have been sounded), when, without warning, there was a roll of musketry and a horde of Indians burst upon the left line of the camp. Some of the officers met the savages at the very doors of the tents.

The Governor's first care was to maintain the line of battle intact, quickly reinforcing whatever part seemed weakest. It soon became apparent that a deadly fire was pouring from the shelter of some trees, about fifty feet distant; and Major Daviess, an eminent lawyer serving as militiaman, was ordered to charge upon this defense of the Indians. He fell, mortally wounded, and his men seemed cut off; but the charge was retrieved by the dash of Captain Snelling, and the shelter was abandoned by the enemy. For this brave cavalryman of the Federal army, the great and famous Fort Snelling, of the "Twin Cities" of Minnesota, was afterwards named.

Through all the conflict, the loud, shrill voice of the Prophet was heard, proclaiming that the bullets of the White men would prove harmless, and filling his deluded followers with religious frenzy. The latter were quickly undeceived.

The attack was soon over. It was not designed to be long. A quick dash in the darkness of the woods, and the destruction of sleeping soldiers, was the plan. It had failed; and with the advancing light, the savages slunk away, bearing off their

dead, while the discredited Prophet made his escape with a few personal followers. His wide-reaching influence may be judged by the fact that his force was made up of Shawnees, Hurons (Wyandottes), Chippewas (Ojibways), Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, and Winnebagoes. Only a few Miamis were among them. The number of Indians engaged cannot be known. It has been estimated at one thousand, and at as low a number as 350. Of Harrison's men, thirty-seven were killed, and twenty-five mortally wounded. Thirty-eight Indian warriors are declared to have been killed.

Governor Harrison advanced to the Prophet's Town, and burned it, with its stores. He then returned to Fort Harrison, where he left Captain Snelling in command, with his company; and disbanding his military auxiliaries, he returned to Vincennes with the citizens of that place who had served as militia.

The attack on his camp was significant of coming events. The Nation was rapidly drifting into war with Great Britain, and the large number of Indians whom the Prophet had drawn from the distant North were doubtless incited by British influence to break the power of the Americans on the western frontier.

The "battle of Tippecanoe" is an expression as familiar to all Americans as the "Battle of Waterloo." Most people are puzzled to account for the fact. The explanation is that this wide fame, which did not begin until nearly three decades later, was political rather than military or historical. In 1840, when Harrison was the candidate of the Whigs for the Presidency, the Opposition sought to ridicule and belittle him in every way. Instead of giving him a campaign name taken from his eminent and well-known services as a general in the War of 1812, they seized upon this (then little known) defense of his camp from Indians, and dubbed him, in derision, the "Hero of Tippecanoe."* General Harrison's supporters, who

*For some reason, geographical names ending with the sound of *oo* seem to have a certain humorous suggestiveness. *Baraboo, Kalamazoo, Yazoo,* etc.,

turned to advantage every slur cast upon him, took up the name and spoke and sang it everywhere in the campaign of that year, and it rang through all America and was echoed beyond the sea.

It is necessary for the student of American history to understand that the great fame which came so late to the night attack on the camp at the Tippecanoe was adventitious; for otherwise he will be misled by it, as so many ill-informed writers have been.

Fortunately the "battle of Tippecanoe," while of little significance in military history, will bear close inspection. The defence was admirably conducted in all particulars; and the foresight, wisdom, and care manifested by the Governor were worthy of a battle upon which the fate of an empire might depend.

As for local interest in the conflict, there was great reason for this in the high character of many of the slain men who were not soldiers by profession, but simply patriotic citizens accompanying their Governor in the character of militia. Their sacrifice was deeply felt in Indiana, where the long-famous Battle Ground has been a shrine of patriotic devotion.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIANA TERRITORY IN THE WAR OF 1812

The war with Great Britain, of which the night attack on the camp at the Tippecanoe was the precursor, came in June of the following year, 1812. It was a conflict for which the young Republic was in no wise prepared, and in which the Nation suffered many deep humiliations.

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have been much drawn upon by humorists. *Tippe-canoe,* for campaign purposes, was especially available for humor, since it suggested an unsafe and insignificant boat on the political sea.

It is to be regretted that our American histories have too often given a wrong impression of the struggle as a whole, by emphasizing our successes in arms and minimizing our defeats.

In Indiana it was "a Captains' war," made up of local contests of small parties, and calling forth the highest qualities of individual valor and judgment. Indiana's part in this war is thus a subject of value to the student of history, as illustrating on a small scale what a war of defense should be.

Governor Harrison, clearly seeing what was to come, was ready with measures of preparedness. The building of blockhouses, where desirable, was recommended, and the militia of all the counties were told to be always in a state of readiness. Towards the Delawares, who had been friendly in the late crisis, he recommended forbearance in all matters of doubt; but in the case of other tribes the officer of the militia must be prompt to pursue and make retaliation for any outrages committed "if the number of men under his command is not inferior to the supposed number of the enemy."

Throughout the spring and summer, blockhouses were erected in all the settled parts of the territory. Farmhouses were provided with loopholes, and doors and windows were provided with strong bars.

A great council of the tribes was held in May on the Mississinewa River. Peaceful counsels prevailed, being strongly urged by the Delawares and others. Tecumseh, who had returned from the South, belittled the affair on the Tippecanoe as "the unfortunate transaction that took place between the White people and *a few of our young men* at our village," and declared that this "transaction" had all been "settled" between his people and the Governor. "Had I been home," he added, "there would have been no blood shed at that time." Doubtless this was true; for he had not then perfected his great alliance, and was not ready. He was interrupted with indignation and reproach by the Delawares,

but he again made a hypocritical pretense of a desire for peace. Like Pontiac, his seeming model, his role was one of treachery.

An interesting movement of the war at its beginning was the hurried march of Captain Wells, with about thirty friendly Miamis, from Fort Wayne along the old Sac Trail to Fort Dearborn (Chicago). Captain Nathaniel Heald, the Commandant of this post, had received orders from General William Hull, then in command at Detroit, to evacuate the post and retire eastward. Captain Wells, whose niece was the wife of Captain Heald, sensed the danger, and felt that he was needed. He reached the doomed fort before the evacuation. The garrison of fifty-four regulars and twelve militiamen marched out of the fort on the fifteenth of August, and reached the place which is now the foot of Eighteenth street in Chicago, when the escort of supposedly-friendly Indians diverged behind the sand hills and began a massacre of the whole line, sparing not even the women and children. Captain Wells was the hero of the defense, but fell in the fight. Twenty-six of the regular troops, all of the twelve militiamen, two women, and twelve children were slain by the savages. Twenty-eight persons were held for ransom.

Mrs. Heald was about to be despatched with a tomahawk when she was rescued by Winnemeg and Wabansee, two faithful friends of Captain Wells. The site of the massacre was marked for more than eight decades by a historic tree, which fell at last, the victim of a storm. Near its site, adjoining the palatial Pullman residence, is the superb Massacre Monument, with the rescue of Mrs. Heald shown in life-size bronze statuary, and with scenes of the old fort in bas-relief on plates of bronze. While the massacre itself occurred outside of our State's northwestern limits, it belongs to this part of Indiana's history.

The disgraceful surrender of Detroit, with its garrison of three hundred and forty regulars and about two thousand

militia, to the British General Brock's thirteen hundred men (including regular soldiers, militia and Indians) followed on the next day without the firing of a gun. Its influence was felt throughout Indiana, and Indians who had been wavering in their allegiance were easily won over to the British cause.

Early in September the Indians about Fort Wayne were suspicious in their actions, and the fort was put in a state of siege. For five weeks the besiegers surrounded it; but there was no thought of surrender on the part of its brave garrison or of the villagers, all of whom were gathered within its sheltering walls.

The hostilities extended rapidly southward. On the fourth of the month (September) Fort Harrison (Terre Haute) sustained an attack under circumstances as thrilling as those which made Captain Wells an immortal hero. The commander of the fort was a sturdy young Virginian of the regular army, Captain Zachary Taylor, who was destined to attain, more than a third of a century later, the highest honor in the gift of the American people.

The attack was made at night by a force made up of Shawnees, Winnebagoes, Kickapoos, and Pottawattamies, with a few Miamis. The Indians started a fire, to burn one of the blockhouses, before their presence was known. The command was instantly given to form a bucket brigade, and pass water from the well, to extinguish the blaze. But the fire was beneath a blockhouse which was used for stores and was not easily accessible from within. The fire had first to be located definitely. Then the door of the storeroom had to be broken open, being securely fastened, and there was delay and confusion. Unfortunately, a barrel of whisky was overturned, and its contents ran down upon the flames, which in an instant blazed up fiercely and climbed to the roof. The roaring of the unquenchable flames, the despairing screams of the women and children who were in the fort for protection, and the hideous yells of the savages without, rendered the scene appalling beyond description.

So many of the soldiers at the time were stretched upon beds of sickness that only about a dozen could be depended upon for active service; and two of the strongest and ablest men, believing that the doom of the fort had come, climbed over the palisade on the dark side, and made a cowardly escape.

Captain Taylor quickly perceived that the fire must be kept within limits, and a new wall built inside the gap that would be left when the blockhouse should fall. To prevent the spreading of the fire, the roof of the blockhouse must be thrown off. This was done; but in order to do it the soldiers must climb upon ladders into the fierce light of the flames, which seemed to deepen the darkness of the shelters of the foe. Bright marks were the brave men for the deliberate fire of the enemy.

With indescribable energy the blazing roof was thrown down, and the new inner rampart erected. Again and again were new fires kindled at unexpected places, only to be extinguished by the downpour of water from the buckets. Until six o'clock in the morning the fierce attack continued, when the Indians slunk away, after securing all the cattle and horses in the vicinity, or shooting any that they could not catch.

One of the most pathetic events of the war was the massacre of the Pigeon Roost settlement in Scott County, where twenty-four inoffensive residents were cruelly slain. This was on the evening of the third of September.

Meanwhile, Governor Harrison had been appointed by the Governor of the State of Kentucky to head a force of militia for the defense of the Northwest, and he now marched to the relief of Fort Wayne, which had held out against the long siege.

In this march a Pottawattamie chief named Logan accompanied the army, and did good service. Mortally wounded in an encounter in which he killed Winamac (who had now joined the British interests), he died in the camp of General Winchester, much regretted, and received the honors of war.

He was not the Logan whose famous speech (formerly studied in school Readers) was preserved in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, but a true friend of the Whites, whose name is perpetuated by the city of Logansport.

Governor Harrison was now appointed by President Madison to be a Brigadier-General (and later to be a Major-General) in the war, and to assume great responsibilities in Canada. He resigned the office of Governor, which he had highly honored, to the Territorial Secretary, John Gibson. The latter was the man to whom the elder Logan had made his famous speech, thirty-eight years before.

While General Harrison was conducting his campaign against the British, Lieut.-Col. John B. Campbell led an expedition from Ohio to destroy the villages of treacherous and hostile Miamis on the Mississinewa, since men of this tribe had participated in the siege of Fort Wayne and in the Pigeon Roost massacre. Campbell's force, which consisted of about six hundred cavalrymen, chiefly Kentuckians, swept along the bank of the Mississinewa and on the 17th of December, 1812, in a fierce engagement of an hour's length which is known as the Battle of the Mississinewa, he defeated the savages, who were ably led. The weather was very cold, the fighting fierce, and the campaign was a memorable one. Campbell destroyed the villages at points from fifteen to twenty miles from its junction with the Wabash. Nearly all the prisoners taken were Muncies, whom the chief Silver Heels had previously kept from hostilities.

Colonel Campbell's instructions were to protect the Delawares, so far as possible, because of the friendly disposition of their chiefs. This tribe, known to anthropologists as the Lenni Lenape, is of special interest. About sixty years before this time they had resided east of the Alleghanies. In 1801 some Christians of their tribe had removed to the banks of the White River, to instruct other Delawares there in the exercise of religion. Among them were Joshua, the "chapel interpreter," Brother Natage, and Brother Luckenbach, from Bethlehem,

Pennsylvania. Their pious labors were broken up by Tecumseh, in 1806. After the Battle of Mississenewa the Delawares were rewarded for their general fidelity to the Government by being transferred to desirable lands in Ohio.

At the battle of the Thames, in Canada, in which General Harrison commanded the American forces, Tecumseh was slain by Richard M. Johnson, a dashing Kentuckian. After the war, General Harrison removed to his estate known as North Bend, in Ohio, a little beyond the boundary of Indiana, where he resided until his inauguration as President, in 1841. Just across the river, in Kentucky, lived his nearest neighbor, Col. Richard M. Johnson, who was Vice-President from 1837 to 1841, and who was defeated as a candidate for the same office in 1840.

A memorial of the War of 1812, in which conflict Americans achieved many brilliant successes on the ocean, is to be found in the names of Porter County and its city of Valparaiso, which commemorate Commodore David Porter and the brave but unequal battle of the Chilean seaport at which his ship, the "Essex," was destroyed. A picture of this famous ship forms the seal of this, the only Porter County in the world.

CHAPTER XV

LAST YEARS OF INDIANA TERRITORY

That a statesman should voluntarily retire from the United States Senate to become the Governor of a rude Territory populated largely by savages, seems almost incomprehensible to-day. Yet in 1813 Thomas Posey, Senator from Louisiana, who had been a Major-General in the Revolutionary War, resigned his seat to become Governor of Indiana Territory

(having been appointed to the position by President James Madison), and doubtless deemed the appointment a promotion.

The inherent greatness of the Governor's office seems not to be realized in some States as it has been in Indiana from the beginning. It has been remarked that the people of Indiana from Territorial days have taken pride in the ability, culture, and social eminence of their Governors, not being attracted by the appeals to prejudice against refinement which are sometimes addressed to "the plain people." As in the Spanish-American countries, where even the poorest of the people desire a "Ladino" (man of learning) to lead them, the people of Indiana have preferred men of high attainments for their chief magistrate. Indeed, it was not until after sixty years of Statehood that a farmer was chosen to the Governor's office and was popularly designated as "Blue Jeans"; and even then these facts were but incidental, since the first "farmer Governor" had long and ably served the State, and was chosen for his experience and integrity, not for his calling in life or for his dress.

Governor Posey entered upon his duties at the capital, Vincennes, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1813.

An expedition under Col. Joseph Bartholomew, in the summer, to overawe any hostile Indians in the north-central parts of the State, did little fighting, but perpetuated the old Indiana names of its officers—DePauw, Dunn, Tipton, Bigger, Owen, Dubois, Shields, and Russell.

There had been no session of the General Assembly in 1812. The last session of this body was now held at Vincennes, and the capital of the Territory was removed to Corydon, in Harrison County. The first legislation in the new capital, in 1814, sought to prevent the practice of dueling, to improve the militia and the jurisprudence, and to provide for a permanent revenue.

That a frontier Territory, in which all families were practiced in the use of arms, should take drastic measures thus

early among the commonwealths of the world to abolish dueling, was indeed remarkable.

In 1816 the services of Governor Posey were terminated by the admission of Indiana to be a State in the Union. A Constitutional Convention had met in Corydon, and prepared a fundamental law, which was speedily ratified at an election called for the purpose; and Indiana took its place as a State, a new star being added to the flag to indicate its admission to the Union.

A flagitious newspaper romance, about sixty years afterwards, sought to throw discredit upon Governor Posey's parentage, and at the same time to dishonor the memory of Washington and of the family of one of his Generals; but being baseless, it was rebuked with public contempt. There is no law to protect the memory of the honored dead from libel or from slander; and when this is assailed, the case must rest with the intelligence and sense of honor of the public.

The last two years of the Territory's existence, was a period of growth and prosperity to which Indiana had been a stranger. The war of 1812 was closed by treaty with Great Britain before the end of 1814, though news of the peace was not received in time to prevent the Battle of New Orleans, in Louisiana.

Strangely varied was the small population of Indiana in the Territorial days. Old French life, new pioneer-"American" life, and Indian life were all here, and there were not a few Negroes, slave and free.

Important young river towns there were, with large and durable dwellings, such as one may yet see at Jeffersonville, Vevay, Brookville, and elsewhere, which give ample testimony to the quality of the founders.

In the southeast corner of Indiana, the Swiss began to settle and to plant their vineyards within a year or two after the formation of Indiana Territory. Long afterwards the culture of the vine in this neighborhood of Cincinnati drew the attention of Longfellow, who, receiving from Cincinnati friends a

present of wine from these vineyards, wrote his clever poem on *Catawba Wine* and conferred upon the city its proud title with the lines—

> "To the Queen of the West
> In her garlands dressed,
> On the banks of the Beautiful River."

THE PERIOD OF STATEHOOD

1816—1916

CHAPTER XVI

THE FIRST QUARTER-CENTURY OF THE STATE

The first Constitution of Indiana, largely prepared under the spreading branches of the old "Constitution Elm" at Corydon, provided for annual meetings of the General Assembly, and for a Governor's term of three years. Its most significant feature was its prohibition of slavery. Even this, for a long time, was but partially effective, owing to the strange vitality of that institution, which perpetuates it in the very face of law where it has once been established and has gained a strong foothold.

The first General Assembly met at Corydon, on the fourth of November. The first Governor, Jonathan Jenning, was inaugurated on the seventh; and the formal admission of the State to the Union was completed on the twelfth of December.

Governor Jennings has been described as "a young Hercules stripped for the fray, and wielding the mighty bludgeon of 'No slavery in Indiana.'" Educated in Pennsylvania, he had

been for a decade in Indiana an opponent of the slave system. When the Governor resigned his office, in 1822, to be a Representative in Congress, Ratliff Boon succeeded him. Later, ex-Governor Boon became prominent in politics in Missouri, to which State he had migrated.

William Hendricks, a Pennsylvanian, now of Madison, was so winning and clever a politician that he received everyone of the 18,340 votes cast for Governor in the State in 1822. Even the "Era of Good Feeling" can hardly account for a fact so astonishing.

The seat of Government was removed from Corydon to Indianapolis in November, 1824. The new capital city had been decided upon nearly four years before, when (Jan. 11, 1820) the General Assembly appointed ten Commissioners to select a central site for the building of such a city. The four sections of land offered by the Federal Government for the purpose were selected in the exact center of the State, by the cardinal points, and the choice was ratified by the General Assembly on the sixth of January, 1821, the prospective city then receiving the name *Indianapolis,* which means (in Greek) *Indiana City.* The surveyors who planned the plat of the new capital took suggestions from the artistic plat of Washington, and one of them had assisted the great landscape gardener L'Enfant in planning the latter. Cities usually grow naturally from small beginnings; and the planning of an important city at the outset has been always a rare event.

The new city was built in the midst of a vast wilderness. While it was on the border of a river (West Fork of White River), the latter was of little or no service for navigation; and removals to Indianapolis were effected only with much labor and discomfort, over new and unimproved roads. The National Road, a highway for wagons and stage coaches, extending westward from Cumberland, Md., was to pass through central Indiana to Indianapolis and Terre Haute; but its progress in building was slow, and it was not completed through Wayne County until 1827.

The crudeness of life in the central settlement of Indianapolis in its early years of isolation and of comparative inaccessibility affords humorous pictures for delineation by novelists and others, but it was not typical of Indiana life in general in this period or at any time. The river towns of the southern counties of the young State, which gave it character, were reached by steamboats, from Territorial days, and contained commodious mansions, well appointed with the best furnishings of their time, and with not a little of luxury. Later, when the north end of the State came to receive its immigrants by lake and river from New England and New York, the new towns, from their beginning, were reached by convenient routes; and they began with substantial, often luxurious, residences and business houses. The young State was always ambitious. There is not, nor ever was, an Indiana dialect. If certain distinctively Southern expressions were heard in the southern counties, equally distinctive Northern expressions were used in the northern part. Brought into comparison in Indiana, both became noticed, and were generally avoided. The charming oddities of speech in Riley's supposedly dialect poems are individualistic or imaginary, and are as fresh and novel to the Indiana reader as to the people of any part of the Nation.

The familiar and pathetic picture of Abraham Lincoln's childhood and youth in Indiana (Spencer County) in this period exhibits the hardships of a pioneer in the wilderness. This, however, is an extreme type. On the other hand, in the same years (the first fourteen years of Statehood) the followers of George Rapp, at New Harmony, were living in commodious houses amid their vineyards and fields, with every comfort and much of luxury, in security and peace of mind (for nine of these years); and they were followed by the experimental company of Robert Dale Owen, whose wealth and skill were lavishly devoted to the cause of the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare and the happiness of his followers. To New Harmony came Neef, a former assistant of Pestalozzi

himself, to teach in Indiana the Pestalozzian principles before they were taught in other States in America. An ideal life, unmatched elsewhere, was the life that developed at New Harmony in the young State.

Both of these pictures represent extremes. Between them was the home life of the well-to-do citizens generally, with much of refinement both in personality and in surroundings.

Governor Hendricks resigned the Governor's chair in 1825, having been elected to the Senate, and his place was taken by James Brown Ray, of Brookville, who was then acting as President of the State Senate, the Lieutenant-Governor having resigned.

Governor Ray was elected to the office in the same year, was re-elected in 1828, and served as Governor, in all, about seven years. He was a Kentuckian, and had studied law in Cincinnati. Eccentric and theatrical, he did not add to the dignity of the State; but there chanced to be, in his time, little that was of a nature to render him conspicuous.

From 1825 there were established a long list of County Seminaries. After 1831, no special charters were required for these. Good schooling was provided for the children of well-to-do families in the county seats, though the rural schools were generally very poor. Hanover College, as a chartered Academy, began in 1828.

Noah Noble, of Brookville, a Virginian of remarkable popularity, was elected Governor in 1831, though he was a Whig and the State was heavily Democratic. He was re-elected in 1834.

In 1832 there was much fear that Indiana might be drawn into Blackhawk's war, which raged in northern Illinois and in the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa. Governor Noble sent two detachments of militia to guard the Wabash and Lake regions; but Indiana was not invaded. A souvenir of this period is the blockhouse erected to guard the settlers of Door Prairie. Forty-two citizens, directed by Captain Peter, con-

structed at Door Village (Laporte County) a creditable stockade with two diagonally-opposite blockhouses.

A State Road, to run southward from Michigan City, on Lake Michigan, through Indianapolis, to Madison, on the Ohio, was begun in 1831, and continued through Governor Noble's terms of office. The Erie Canal (opened in 1825) contributed to forming a water route all the way from the Hudson River to Michigan City and to Fort Wayne. The northern third of the State, long an almost unbroken wilderness, was now receiving great accessions of people, many of them possessed of considerable capital and accustomed to the amenities of life.

In 1832 the State entered upon the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal, which it was hoped would give the old water route from Lake Erie to the Ohio, in the approaching high civilization of the nineteenth century, the same relative importance that it had possessed in Colonial days. In order to secure sufficient votes for this measure in the General Assembly, various public works in other parts of the State had to be conceded to "log-rolling" politicians, and the consequence was that Indiana entered upon a system of construction far beyond the limits of financial safety. The eventual displacement of canal traffic by railways, and the awful panic of 1837, were not then foreseen; and the State was led into a scheme that ended in disaster. But during the years of Governor Noble's terms Indiana enjoyed high prosperity, there was work for everyone to do, and the future seemed bright. Ten millions of dollars were appropriated by the State for the construction of these works, and a heavy State debt was thus incurred.

Among the other notable enterprises undertaken in 1832, a permanent School Fund was begun, to be made up of delinquent tax sales. In the next year permission was given to the people of the Congressional Townships to sell their school lands, and thus add to the fund. In 1834 a State Bank was chartered. Within a year it received over a million dollars

on deposit from the Federal Government. On all such moneys loaned it received a high rate of interest, but it paid none whatever. A large number of shares in the Bank were held by the State, bonds being sold to pay for them. A tax on all the other shares was raised for the School Fund. The State's profits at the close of the Bank's life were also added. These amounted ultimately to $4,767,805.89. The tax on the shares reached nearly $80,000.

In 1836 the Federal Government began to distribute its large surplus revenue among the States, and Indiana's share was expected to be $860,254. Half of this sum was added to the State School Fund. For a long time, however, education was deplorably neglected; and in 1840 one-seventh of the population were found to be wholly illiterate. There was much of class distinction in Indiana. The favored class enjoyed excellent opportunities for education. There was little provision for the children of the poor.

The old State House of Indiana in Indianapolis was completed in 1835. It occupied the site of the south wing of the present State House, and faced southward. Its cost was about sixty thousand dollars. Patterned after a Greek temple (though it had a central cupola), and presenting massive Doric pillars to the front, it was dignified in appearance, and it lasted for more than forty years.

A vexatious problem of the time was a famous boundary dispute. By the Constitution of Indiana, the north line of the State was north of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and the new city which began to achieve importance as a harbor at the mouth of "Trail Creek" (Michigan City) was within our borders. But Michigan claimed that the true line was that of Indiana Territory as established in 1805, and that the harbor city was not ours, nor was the harbor at Toledo, on Lake Erie, Ohio's. In 1836, when Michigan was ready to be admitted as a State, the contention was strong. Our State maintained its claim, but Ohio failed to do likewise. For satisfaction to Michigan, the North Peninsula was added to

that State, which was admitted in 1837. Had there been no doubt as to the ownership and jurisdiction of Michigan City when, as an infant city, it was a rival of Chicago for the trade of the Lakes, what might have been its destiny! Large capital could not be invested while the ownership and jurisdiction were in doubt.

With the settlement of the Boundary dispute there came a rapid settlement of our northern border, the immigrants usually traveling comfortably (if not luxuriously) by lake and river from their old homes in the Northeast. The new communities thus formed were typical of that section.*

David Wallace, of Brookville, a graduate and then a tutor of West Point, who had now served for two terms as Lieutenant-Governor, was elected Governor in 1837, in time to receive the full brunt of the blow given to prosperity by the great panic. He has been censured for not stopping the work of construction at once; but, like many others, he did not realize that the scheme would necessarily fail, and until 1839 the work went on. To pay the contractors and meet obligations generally, the States authorized an issue of treasury notes to the amount of one and one-half millions of dollars; but this proved only a temporary expedient. In 1842, when a million dollars of these notes was in circulation, they suddenly dropped in value to sixty or even to fifty cents on the dollar.

The Indiana College at Bloomington (which had devel-

*As illustrating the New England custom of naming children for Bible characters and Christian virtues, a representative community in our Lake region has included among its names of citizens Azariah Freeman, Nahum Cross, Obadiah Dunham, Zachariah Fifield, Jeremiah and Bathsheba Hammell, Peleg Brown, Mordecai Jones, Job Barnard, Ebenezer Merrifield, Ellithan Marshall, Ruel Starr, Elias and Nathaniel Axe, Abijah Higgins, Moses Winslow, Aaron Parks, Achsah Sheffield, Azubah Winslow, Vashti Hixon, Naomi Hawkins, Patience Prosius, Charity White. The list might be considerably extended. There were at first but few of foreign birth other than British in this community, but it included a student of the famous "Blue Coat School" of London (Seffens), a London merchant and literary man (Benney), an eminent scholar (Ball), and others of social distinction.

oped from a State Seminary opened in 1825) became a University in 1838. De Pauw (chartered first as Asbury) University had begun at Greencastle in the preceding year. Franklin College (chartered in 1844) had likewise begun as an Institute in 1837.

While David Wallace was Governor, the Battle Ground of Tippecanoe leaped into National fame through the nomination (by the first Whig national convention) of General William Henry Harrison for the Presidency, in 1840.

Governor Wallace issued the first Proclamation of a Thanksgiving Day in Indiana, and Governor William H. Seward issued the first in the State of New York. This holiday had been previously limited to New England. In the time of President Lincoln it became a national observance.

Governor Wallace was not renominated by the Whig State Convention in 1840, and he served for but a single term. Later, when he was a member of Congress, he supported an appropriation for the construction of an experimental line to test the "magnetic telegraph" of Professor S. F. B. Morse. This fact cost him many votes in his district, but he could well afford to lose them in such a cause.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DECADE OF THE "FORTIES"

Samuel Bigger was chosen Governor in the fall of 1840. He was a classical scholar, and had been a member of the General Assembly and a judge. He could do little to relieve the deplorable financial situation of the State. Maurice Thompson says "The State had in hand, at that time, the following improvements: the Wabash Canal, the Erie Canal, the Cross-Cut Canal at Terre Haute, the Whitewater Canal,

the Central Canals, the Erie and Michigan Canal, the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, the Indianapolis and LaFayette Turnpike, the New Albany and Vincennes Turnpike, the Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville Road, and a scheme for the improvement of the Wabash Rapids jointly with the State of Illinois. The entire State debt in 1841 was over eighteen million dollars."

The treasury notes issued by the State bore interest, and were eventually redeemed; but since they now circulated at a ruinous discount, they were spoken of with contempt as "red dog" currency, the name having reference to the red ink used in the printing, and to a picture which the bills bore.

Bank notes, issued often by banks at a great distance away, and liable to great fluctuation in value, came to be called "wildcat" money.

Pictures of life in Indiana in this period are to be found in Edward Eggleston's *Roxy* and *The End of the World.*

The Prigg decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1842, rendered practically inoperative the old Fugitive Slave Law of Washington's time, though there was no new law of the kind to take its place until 1850. This was a decision of which every student of American history should learn, since it makes clear the relations of the State and National Governments. Just as the State Government has no control over an office created by Federal law, so the Congress has no control over an office created by State law. Under the old Fugitive Slave Law, county and city officers and all judges were required to return fugitive slaves; for this principle had not been clearly understood. By the Prigg decision only the Federal officers included in the old law (the few judges of Federal Courts) could be directed by Congress to do this, although new and additional Federal offices might be created for the purpose.

As a result, slaves escaping into the North could be aided to reach Canada before a proper officer (necessarily a Federal Judge) could be found to prevent this. Secret lines of

philanthropic aid to fugitive slaves had been formed. Hiding places on the way were called "stations" on the "Underground Railroad." The number and activity of these were now greatly increased. Among the "stations" in Indiana were Westfield (now Fountain City) in Wayne County, Salem, Columbus, Greensburg, Bloomingdale, and Richmond. Even in the larger cities, Indianapolis, Evansville, Jeffersonville, Madison and LaFayette, there were "stations," though the risk of discovery was great. Away up in the northern part of Porter County was Hagerman, which aided many a poor slave in his escape to the "station" at Kalamazoo, Mich.

The necessity for secrecy, to avoid the penalties for this Christian work, was such that a record of it could not be written at the time. It is now an interesting and well-confirmed tradition.

The time was one of deep religious interest, and denominational strife was bitter. Governor Bigger, a strong Presbyterian, had once opposed the wishes of the Methodists to have a proportionate representation in the young State University, at Bloomington, and was declared to have remarked that the Methodist Church did not require an educated ministry. The Methodists, on the other hand, declared that they, as a society, had had their very origin in the greatest of all Universities,—that of Oxford,—and that they would establish one of their own, in Indiana. This they had begun in a small way in Greencastle (De Pauw University) in 1837, and now it was growing marvelously.

The alleged remark of the Governor* was widely repeated during his term, and he was defeated in 1843 by James Whitcomb, a Methodist and a Democrat, who was one of the ablest statesmen the State has known.

Governor Whitcomb arranged for turning over the Wabash

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*It is easy to see that such a remark might be, in its intent, a high compliment to the effectiveness of Methodist preaching even under unfavorable circumstances, or merely a piece of innocent humor, or both together. But

and Erie Canal in liquidation of half of the State's gigantic debt, and for taking up the other half by the issuing of bonds bearing a low rate of interest.

The first railway constructed in Indiana connected Madison with the capital. On its embankment, on the Fourth of July, 1843, a picnic "coach," drawn by mules, ran from Shelbyville on wooden rails (which were laid for this purpose) to the distance of a mile and a quarter. This is remembered in local legend as John Walker's Railway. On the first day of October, 1847, the first railway train reached Indianapolis. The lines of steam railways in Indiana now, if extended in one line, would reach about one-third of the way around the world at the Equator; and there is a very large aggregate of trolley lines.

The growing illiteracy in Indiana was now really alarming. An earnest reformer (who proved, eventually, to be Professor Caleb Mills, of Wabash College), taking the name of "One of the People," presented a "Message" on the subject to the General Assembly of 1846, and to those of the next three years. Something more than temporary legislation was needed to guarantee an efficient school system.

In Governor Whitcomb's period of office, and by his advice, benevolent and reformatory institutions were established by the State, and the school law was greatly improved.

Governor Whitcomb was elected to the Senate in 1849, near the end of his term of office; and in the interval its duties devolved on Paris C. Dunning, of Bloomington, who was destined to be brought again into prominence in later years, as President of the State Senate in the General Assembly of 1863.

Governor Whitcomb's essay on the tariff, written in 1843, was so able an exposition of the principles of political economy that it was reproduced entire as a political campaign document nearly four decades later, in 1882. Governor Whitcomb

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it acquired, by repetition, a sarcastic significance probably never intended by the cultured Governor.

was a broad scholar, and retained his studious habits through life. As Commissioner of the General Land Office, at Washington, for many years, he found his knowledge of French and of Spanish very serviceable to him, since he needed no interpreter for documents written in these languages.

He collected a notable library of works in various languages and on all subjects, and left this, by bequest, to De Pauw University. The universality of his scholarship, and the astonishing variety of his studies, caused the criticism that his library was "ill-assorted and disjointed." He knew little of the narrowness of the specialist of our time. Governor Whitcomb's only daughter became the wife of Claude Matthews, whose name, in a later generation, was to appear in the roll of Governors of Indiana.

In 1844 the University of Notre Dame, at South Bend, one of the great institutions of the Catholics in America, was chartered, and opened its doors.

In the time of Governor Whitcomb came the Mexican War (1846-8), in which Indiana soldiers participated. Indiana's part in that conflict is related in a separate chapter.

In 1847-8, John W. Davis, an Indiana man, held the very important post of Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington, and was thus able to direct much of the legislation in that critical period of war and annexation.

In 1849 Joseph A. Wright, a Democrat, was chosen to be the last Governor of the State under the old Constitution. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth, and was the first Indiana Governor to be educated at our State University.

CHAPTER XVII

INDIANA IN THE MEXICAN WAR

It is a legend of southeastern Indiana that the vanity of a barefoot farm laborer brought on the Mexican War, with all its consequences, including the War of Secession.

This man, having no boots to wear, and being indifferent as to politics, had decided to spend the day on the farm, and not to vote. A candidate for the General Assembly, learning of this at the last moment, took off his own boots at the polling place and walked about in his socks, while a messenger bore the footgear at hot speed to the farm, and brought in the voter, whom the boots chanced to fit, and to whom the satisfaction of riding in a carriage and wearing a pair of costly boots at the polls made a strong appeal. That one vote turned the evenly-balanced scale in the legislative district, and elected the sock-foot man to the General Assembly of 1842. His one vote, in the legislative session, turned the scale and elected Albert S. Hannegan to the U. S. Senate. Senator Hannegan's one vote, in 1845, turned the scale and secured the admission of Texas, which caused the war.*

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*Mr. Hannegan was elected to the Senate in 1842 by a vote of 76 members of the General Assembly, against 74. The loss of a single vote would have caused a tie, and defeated his election. Texas was admitted by a joint resolution of Congress in 1845, the vote in the Senate being 27 to 25. The change of a single vote would have defeated the measure by causing a tie, for there was then no Vice-President to give a deciding vote. The record of the Indiana legislative district vote by which the farm laborer turned the scale may not now be preserved, but investigations in this Centennial year may bring it to light. No voter should cast his ballot lightly, since great consequences, all unforeseen, may grow out of it.

When the Mexican War began, in 1846, the scholarly and resolute James Whitcomb was Governor of the State. The Government made demand upon Indiana for five regiments. Eight regiments, and men to more than that number, responded to the call; for the war enthusiasm was general in Indiana, and Whigs like Henry S. Lane were no less belligerent than the most partisan of Democrats.

Only five of the regiments were accepted, since large armies were not needed. The quality of the Indiana soldiers was high. In the campus of more than one old college in the State are trees in the bark of which are cut, high up, the initials of students who left their books to take part in the war. Whether gathered from the farm or from the activities of the village or city, the soldier boys of Indiana proved their worth on the hot battlefields of Mexico, where contests were fought against appalling odds.

A crucial test, alike a leadership on the part of the commander and of heroism on the part of the rank and file, was the battle of Buena Vista, on the 23rd of February, in the first year of the war (1846), when General Zachary Taylor, confronted by five times the number of his effective troops, held his admirably-chosen position and routed his assailants.

So tense was the situation that the slightest blunder or hesitation in any quarter might end in the utter destruction of the army.

Most unfortunately, the 2nd Indiana regiment in this battle was ordered by its Colonel to fall back; and the men, of course, obeyed the order. Whether this order was given from a lack of judgment on the Colonel's part, or whether it was the result of cowardice, is not known. Certainly the responsibility rests with him. But the obloquy which it brought upon the name of Indiana was most exasperating to every citizen of the State.

In this battle Jefferson Davis, the son-in-law of General Taylor, acquitted himself with great gallantry, being quick, thoughtful, and daring, and aided in compensating for the

dangerous retreat. After the battle the proud old General, who had been estranged from his son-in-law hitherto, greeted him warmly, and was much influenced by the passionate reproaches hurled against the "2nd Indiana."

The anonymous but probably authentic book "Battles of Mexico" (1848) says:

"The action was so warm that the Second Indiana regiment broke, not being able to stand against such a fire, and left the artillery unprotected. Thus Captain O'Brien [of the Artillery] retired, leaving one of his pieces [cannon], at which every man and horse was either killed or wounded."

General Taylor's official report censured "those who fled ingloriously," and the phrase was popularly understood to refer particularly to the Indiana soldiers who fell back under such a fire, at the command of their Colonel.

When the soldiers of Taylor's army returned to the United States, a great crowd of angry and contemptuous men at the wharf in New Orleans greeted the Indiana soldiers' ship with cries of "Fugitives! Fugitives!"

As a matter of fact, another Indiana regiment was the *only* regiment that did not once take a backward step in the whole days' fighting.

It was felt that the record in the War Department at Washington should be explained and made specific; but this could not be done under the Polk administration. At the next election, in 1848, lo! to behold, Zachary Taylor himself was chosen President.

Four years passed; and in the next administration (that of President Franklin Pierce), Jefferson Davis himself was Secretary of War!

The offensive and generally-misapplied words in the report of the Battle of Buena Vista remained (and still remain) without qualification or explanation. But they were not soon forgotten.

In the War of Secession, the South, misled by long-uncontradicted assertion, expected little from Indiana troops.

Doubtless a desire to retrieve a reputation which had suffered from injustice animated the men of Indiana to do their best; and the State has the proud distinction of a record of readiness, bravery, and brilliant service perhaps unequaled, certainly unsurpassed, by that of any other State that took part in the conflict.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DECADE OF THE "FIFTIES"

The time had come in the growth and development of the State for preparing a new organic law; and as a result of earnest urging by the Governor, a Constitutional Convention was held in Indianapolis from October 7, 1850 to February 10, 1851. The work of the Convention proved satisfactory, and the new Constitution was overwhelmingly ratified by the people.

It provided for biennial (instead of annual) meetings of the General Assembly; made the offices of Secretary, Treasurer, and Auditor of State and the Judges of the Supreme Court, elective, rather than appointive; prohibited special lawmaking of a local nature; prohibited the State from owning any stock in a bank or corporation; provided for the creation of corporations under a general statute; and in many other ways proved an exemplary organic law.

A new and comprehensive School Law was enacted June 14, 1852, when a final legislative "Message" was received from "One of the People," who had made an effective appeal to the Constitution makers.

While the cause of popular education was safeguarded in the new Constitution, the property rights of married women

were not. Robert Dale Owen, the radical reformer, had waged a battle in the General Assembly for reform in this matter as early as 1837, and had pleaded with the Constitutional Convention to no purpose. Continuing his fight in all places and in all seasons, he lived to see secured the reform so long desired; and Indiana proudly led in securing to married women "the right to their own."

Governor Wright sent as Indiana's contribution to the Washington Monument a block of Indiana stone bearing an inscription expressing intense Union sentiment. Later (in the war time), he sustained the President, and was appointed to finish the term of Jesse D. Bright in the Senate; still later, to be Minister to Prussia, where he enjoyed an intimate friendship with Baron von Humboldt. He died in Berlin.

During the period of this administration Jesse D. Bright was first in the order of succession to the Presidency, being President of the Senate; for Vice-President William R. King, elected with Franklin Pierce in 1852, did not live to preside over the Senate. Senator Bright was a slaveholder owning a plantation in Kentucky, and had but a shadowy residence in this State, though representing it in the Senate for sixteen years. He was expelled from the Senate in 1861.

Governor Wright was chosen, in 1852, to be the first Governor under the new Constitution, as he had been the last under the old one. And thus he served, in all, through a period of seven years. George W. Julian, of Indiana, was the Free Soil candidate for Vice-President in 1852.

Governor Wright was a strong advocate of improvement in agriculture, and aided in establishing the State Board of Agriculture (of which he was the first President) and the State Agricultural Society. He was the inveterate foe of irresponsible or doubtful banks, and was known as the "anti-bank" Governor. To this day the State has suffered from disregard of a proper restriction of banking.

In 1856 the Democrats elected Ashbel P. Willard Governor. He was the first Governor to die in office; he passed

away at the new city of St. Paul, Minn., and was succeeded by Abram A. Hammond, of Brookville, who finished the term.

The Democratic party in the State and Nation was rent asunder as the result of the Kansas-Nebraska measure of 1854 and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857. The John Brown Raid of 1859 added to the passions of the hour, and the Nation was drifting rapidly to war between the sections of the North and the South.

Both State and Nation entered upon a new era with the result of the elections of 1860, when the new Republican party swept the State and triumphed in the country at large.

CHAPTER XX

INDIANA IN THE WAR OF SECESSION

In the fall of 1860, when a great war for the Union was impending, Col. Henry S. Lane and Judge Oliver P. Morton, were elected, respectively, Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Indiana. They were candidates of the Republican party, which had come into existence as a national organization four years before by a fusion of the various elements opposed to the extension of slavery. "Of strange, discordant, sometimes hostile elements," said Abraham Lincoln, "we gathered from the four winds."

Colonel Lane had been a Whig, and Judge Morton a Democrat. Colonel Lane was a popular speaker, who could captivate a crowd with his wit and humor, and win voters. Judge Morton was the man for the hour in the great crisis. Irresistible in argument, inflexible in purpose, he was devoid of humor, and even his strong sympathy and tenderness were hidden beneath his judicial exterior.

Governor Lane served for two days only. On the sixteenth of January, 1861, he was chosen for the Senate by the General Assembly, or Legislature, and the Lieutenant-Governor succeeded to his place in the Governor's chair. This had been planned before the fall election.

Mr. Lincoln, who had been elected President, would not enter upon his duties until the fourth of March; and in the interval he felt compelled to remain silent. Governor Morton, by official correspondence and otherwise, could and did assert continually the inviolability of the Union, in terms that no one could misunderstand.

Even after the inauguration of President Lincoln, and after some of the Southern States had seceded, there was a period of watchful waiting until the South should strike the first blow. On the twelfth of April the long-dreaded conflict in arms began, with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.

Governor Morton instantly declared to the General Assembly of Indiana, "We have passed from the field of argument to the solemn fact of war."

Hitherto the careful interpreter of laws, he became the ruling spirit of the war, in all the West, seeing in the crisis a supreme necessity which rises above the letter of laws and of constitutions. He must be more than Governor of Indiana if the Union was to be preserved. He must not merely comply with the requisitions made upon him by the Federal Government, and call upon it for supplies, as any loyal Governor would do. He must assume a responsibility without precedent. He must anticipate and go beyond the requisitions, obtain supplies independently, disregard State lines, and even give advance direction and advice to the Federal Government as to the conduct of the war. He must be a leader of men, guided by a supreme purpose, and overcoming every obstacle for the attainment of the great end, the preservation of the Union. This must be understood if we would understand the history of our State relating to the great crisis.

There was less than fifteen thousand dollars in the State Treasury. The state possessed practically no arms or army supplies. Its credit was not of the best. The Federal Government was far away, and in no wise prepared to meet the emergency.

On the fifteenth of April the President issued his call for troops; but before it was received, on the same day, Governor Morton telegraphed to him an offer of ten thousand men. The State's quota under the call was six regiments (of 774 men each); and in one week's time more than twelve thousand men were ready, and were offered for the defense of Washington. Not being needed there, the surplus regiments were held in readiness for future use, and were thoroughly drilled.

The Government at Washington was deficient in military supplies. Governor Morton sent to Europe Robert Dale Owen, a man of unimpeachable honor and a fine mechanician, to purchase for the State the best of guns, in amount nearly sufficient to arm forty of the regiments of that day.

In a small way, a State Arsenal was begun. At least, ammunition could be prepared in it. There were few kinds of employment open for women at that time; but the wives and daughters of soldiers could make cartridges, and this work was given to them. Gunsmiths could repair old weapons, and render them fit for service. The State Arsenal, with its modest equipment, grew into great importance until its final transfer to the Nation.

The principal work of the first year of the war was to hold the wavering Border States. Soldiers from Indiana were prominent in saving West Virginia to the Union.

In 1861 Governor Morton went to New York, and bought twenty-nine thousand overcoats for Indiana soldiers in the Federal service who were in need of them.

In September, 1862, Cincinnati was in great peril. The Confederates, advancing rapidly through Kentucky, were bent upon seizing this city and carrying the war into the North. Neither the State nor the Nation could act in time to save it.

The appeal of the city came to Governor Morton. Instantly he commandeered the engines and cars of the railways at the old Union Depot at Indianapolis; likewise the drays and the farm wagons in the city, to load the trains with guns and ammunition. Going himself, with two regiments, he directed the defense. The citizens of the great and wealthy Ohio city were impressed to defend it by means of earthworks erected on the Kentucky side of the river, and the plans of the Confederates were effectually overturned by the preparations made.

To hold Kentucky in the Union by supporting the overawed and endangered Union element in that State had been the special task of Governor Morton. From the beginning, when the Kentucky Unionists had operated from Jeffersonville, on the Indiana side of the river, Governor Morton had encouraged and defended them. Repeatedly, in the war, did he send regiments to Kentucky. Frankfort was saved, Lexington was saved, Louisville was saved, as Cincinnati was, and the recruiting and supply station in lower Kentucky was broken up, by the prompt action of Indiana soldiers.

In 1862, when many thousands of men were withdrawn from the State, and depression had followed the early enthusiasm of the war, a General Assembly opposed to the Governor and to the prolongation of the conflict was chosen in the fall election. In the two remaining years of the war, the Governor stood alone. The General Assembly sought to take from him the supreme power in military affairs, and adjourned without making any appropriation. Not a dollar could the Governor draw from the State Treasury; and if the interest on the war debt should be in default, the State's financial credit would be ruined.

With astonishing success, but without any warrant of law (except the law of necessity), the Governor established a "Bureau of Finance" in his own office, borrowed a million dollars without security (for he owned little or no property), arranged for the payment of the interest on the State debt, and disbursed money at will, governing without the aid of a

Legislature (which could not be reassembled except upon his call).

His situation now was one of peculiar peril; for next in succession to the Governor's office, in the event of his death, stood the President of the State Senate, the choice of the Opposition. And now came to the supreme test of his ability to meet issues.

In opposition to the Governor and to the war, a secret society was formed. Secret political organization was not new. The "Knownothings" (so called because of their concealment of what they knew of their party) had played a part in the Presidential election of 1856; and while secrecy in politics was the subject of much censure, it was not necessarily criminal or disloyal.

The new organization, however, was disloyal at the top, its chief officers planning treason to the State and Nation, though thousands of the citizens admitted to its lower degrees doubtless regarded it merely as a means of constitutional and legitimate political action. The plans of the leaders, as afterwards disclosed, contemplated the overthrow of the Governor, the liberation of Confederate prisoners held in Indianapolis and in Chicago (who were to co-operate with the anti-Morton men in Indiana), the seizure of the Arsenal, and the incursion of Confederates from Kentucky, to the end that the war should cease.

Governor Morton was advised of the treason hatching by day and by night. His spies informed him daily of the progress of the plot. The time came to strike. It would be folly to invoke grand juries and the slow and uncertain processes of courts. The Governor ordered the seizure of the leaders, and appointed a Military Commission to try them. At its head was General Silas Colgrove, a grim veteran who had distinguished himself as one of the most daring and irresistible cavalry leaders of the war.

The blow was struck in the very moment of fate. Of the four leaders, one escaped; but the other three were condemned

to death,* and terror struck the hearts of all who had been beguiled into toying with covert treason. A Military Commission had not been dreamt of. It was beyond all civil law, and the Governor and his course of action were now secure. The effect of the exposures brought about by the Commission's investigations was to unite loyal men in the support of the Union cause as never before. In the same year, Morton was elected to serve as Governor. Heretofore he had deemed himself *Acting* Governor, having succeeded to the office without being elected to it. While the State Constitution prohibits the election of any person to the Governor's office for two consecutive terms, that limitation was held not to apply in this case.

It would require a library to tell the story of Indiana's part in the War of Secession. It is the mature judgment of many that the Union could not have been saved had its President been a man of different type from Lincoln—had he been slower or more rapid, stronger or weaker, more daring or less daring. President Lincoln proved to be the man for his time. Likewise we may well believe that the Union could not have been saved with a man materially different from Oliver P. Morton in the West, to give executive direction where the need was greatest, when the scale was hung in even balance.

The story of the war from the standpoint of the West may yet be written in its fullness; and when it shall be so written, without detraction from the noble work of other war Governors and other States, Governor Morton will be seen as the central figure in the Great Northwest and on the difficult and dangerous border; and the Indiana of the "sixties," the smallest in area of all the Western States, with its resources undeveloped, its forests largely uncleared, its swamps as yet undrained, its wealth in money small, will be shown to have contributed amazingly to the attainment of the great end.

Of Indiana men in the Federal Government, Caleb B.

*On the intercession of Governor Morton, their lives were spared by President Johnson.

Smith (1861) and John P. Usher (1863) served successively as Secretary of the Interior, and Hugh McCulloch (1865) as Secretary of the Treasury.

A knowledge of Indiana's war history gives new interest and significance to the Soldiers' Monument on the Governor's Circle in Indianapolis. The importance of the subject will justify a careful study of the brief specific summary which follows.

CHAPTER XXI

BRIEF SUMMARY OF INDIANA'S PART IN THE WAR

THE REGIMENTS. Indiana furnished 129 regiments of infantry, thirteen of cavalry and one of heavy artillery; also twenty-six batteries of light artillery, and various independent companies and parts of such companies. The first regiment was numbered the Sixth, out of respect for the five regiments that served in the Mexican war. The last organized was the One-hundred-and-fifty-sixth. The artillery, cavalry, etc., were numbered separately. Not included in these were six companies of Colored troops.

UNION SOLDIERS. The troops furnished by the State numbered, in the aggregate, 208,367; but this number includes 11,718 re-enlisted veterans. On October 6, 1862, 3,003 were drafted through an error of the War Department, while the quota of troops due from Indiana was already more than filled by volunteers. Drafts were also conducted in September and October, 1864, and in March, 1865, an aggregate of 14,900 troops were thus secured.

SUPPLIES ADVANCED. The Federal government was at first unable to provide the armies with arms, ammunition, clothing, etc. The State voted at the outset $1,000,000 for the enlistment, maintaining, and subsisting of troops, $500,000 for arms and ammunition, and $100,000 for military contingencies.

SUPPLY OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION. The State agent purchased from English manufactories 30,000 rifles, with a large amount of side arms. A State Arsenal was begun in a small way on April 27, 1861, and developed into an important source of ammunition supplies, the number of persons employed in it eventually reaching 600. An Arsenal was commenced by the Federal Government in 1863.

MILITARY PRISONS. Camp Morton, at the State capital, became a prison for Confederate soldiers on the 22nd of February, 1862, receiving on that day 3,700 prisoners of war. About 800 were quartered at Terre Haute, and a similar number at LaFayette; but these were soon removed to Camp Morton to remain with the others. Here the number was augmented, as the war continued, until it reached 6,000.

SERVICES OF THE MILITIA. In addition to the regular soldiers, whose number has been given, there were not less than 50,000 militia called into service at various times to repel raids of Confederates and defend our southern border.

CONFEDERATE RAIDS. The State was invaded three different times.

THE SEIZURE OF NEWBERN. On July 17, 1862, Captain A. R. Johnson, with thirty-one men, crossed the Ohio and captured Newbern, in Warrick County, and seized a store of arms and hospital and commissary supplies, which had been left unguarded in the Union soldiers' hospital at the place. Before the militia could be called out, the marauders escaped back into Kentucky.

HINES'S RAID. On the 17th of June, 1863, Captain F. H. Hines, with sixty-two Confederates, crossed the river

and entered Perry County, above Cannelton, and made his way towards Paoli. On the 19th he appeared at Hardinsburg, in Washington County. Later in the day Hines was overtaken by a company of militia and minute men, while attempting to ford the Ohio above Leavenworth, and captured with fifty of his followers, a few of the men being killed or drowned.

MORGAN'S RAID. On the 8th of July, 1863, General John Morgan crossed the Ohio at Mauckport, Harrison County, with a cavalry force of about three thousand men, and entered upon his celebrated raid. His route lay through Harrison, Washington, Scott, Jennings, Ripley, and Dearborn Counties. He passed through Corydon, Salem, Vernon, Versailles, Osgood, and Harrison, with several light skirmishes, plundering the towns and all the farms within reach along the line, and sometimes burning bridges and buildings. He escaped into Ohio on the 13th, though hotly pursued through much of the raid by a large force of militia.

ASSISTANCE TO OTHER STATES. Besides performing the stated duties of his office, Governor Morton took measures looking to the defense of the entire western Border. He became known as "The Clubbed Right Arm of the Government."

On the 6th of September, 1862, when Cincinnati was endangered, Governor Morton sent two regiments and a large supply of ammunition, and followed in person to aid and direct the work of defense. About twenty thousand men had been sent into Kentucky, with wonderful despatch, in August.

On the 22nd of September, when General Bragg demanded the surrender of Louisville, Governor Morton went in person, with his staff, to that city to plan the defense. On the 8th of June, following, he sent a regiment to aid in protecting Louisville.

On the 2nd of May, 1864, he sent two regiments to the aid of Lexington, Ky., and within two days, two additional regiments.

On the 19th of August, 1864, a force of Indiana troops

moved upon the Confederate recruiting camp at Morganfield, Ky., and dispersed the enemy.

In addition to all this, large forces of militia were stationed in various parts of our southern border, ready to repair, if needed, to points beyond the limits of the State; and thus they protected our neighboring States.

FINANCIAL MEASURES. On the failure of the appropriation bill of 1863, the Governor organized, on his own responsibility and with no authority of law, a "Bureau of Finance" and received from individuals and corporations voluntary contributions and loans amounting to more than a million dollars.

By personal efforts he secured from a New York banking house an advance sufficient to pay the interest on the State's war debt.

CONSULTATIONS OF EXECUTIVES. In May, 1862, after the battle of Shiloh, Governor Morton met the Governors of several of the northwestern States at Pittsburg Landing. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1864, he held at Indianapolis another consultation, at which were present the Executives of Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Iowa. At both of these gatherings measures were concerted for promoting the cause of the Union.

The story of Indiana in the war has no counterpart in American history. There was but one Governor Morton. The "Clubbed Right Arm of the Government" on the difficult western Border seemed to wield the hammer of Thor, "Mjëlner the mighty." His brain seemed the brain of a Jove. To the would-be assassins who pursued him he was as elusive as a Proteus. With the doors of the State Treasury closed, and with the aggressively Union cause in Indiana hanging by a single life (for in the event of his death his successor would have been of the Opposition), he shut his eyes to State lines, Constitutions, and laws; raised and disbursed money to carry on his work in his own way; sent troops or commanded in person wherever the need was greatest; called other Governors

into consultation, and secured their ratification of his plans; advised the Government at Washington what to do in each great crisis—and turned the scale of the Union Cause.

Indiana gave the first response to the President's call for troops; was the first to put troops in the field; kept soldiers in advance of calls and excess of quota; never failed to protect sister States when aid was needed, Indiana soldiers were the first to capture field officers of the Confederates. Governor Morton devised the "hundred-day" scheme of enlistment, and other historic measures for armament. He established his "Arsenal," commandeered railway trains when necessary, bought out whole stocks from dealers in clothing which the soldiers needed, and did many other things in the same astonishing way in which he manufactured his "Bureau of Finance," to take the place of a State Treasury. His "Military Commission," for instance, utterly lawless in the eyes of the Supreme Court of the Nation, was to him a necessity of the hour, and that was to him its all-sufficient excuse for being. No other Governor in the Nation occupied a position of such perilous opportunity as his. He stands alone in having braved the peril and saved the Union cause. In all this period he was never worth $10,000—that wonderful man who could borrow a million without even the color of law.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LAST HALF-CENTURY

From the close of the War of Secession the progress of Indiana has been continuous and marvelous in all lines of advancement. At times it has been steady, and at times it has been by leaps and bounds. Its record in detail is accessible without necessity for painstaking and difficult research, and it is within the recollection of great numbers of people now living. It is therefore to be presented here only in the simplest outline.

Governor Morton was chosen to the Senate in 1867, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Conrad Baker, who in 1868 was elected to be his own successor, and therefore, like Governor Morton, served about six years.

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was elected Vice-President in the same year, 1868. From 1863 he had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, at Washington. Called now to preside over the Senate, he rounded out an unmatched parliamentary career.

Following the war there was a great expansion of the manufactures of Indiana, and the natural resources of the State were developed as never before. Indiana wagons were soon to be found in many foreign lands. The achievements in glass making were phenomenal. "Block" coal and superior building stone were supplied to an ever-broadening market.

The period of Reconstruction was a stormy one, the old-time partisanship being intensified by memories of the struggle. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was ratified by the General Assembly in 1869, but only against

intense opposition, and through the firmness of the President of the State Senate.

In the following year the State Normal School was opened at Terre Haute.

In 1872 Thomas A. Hendricks was elected Governor, being the first Democrat chosen for that office in any Northern State after the war. He was a nephew of Governor William Hendricks.

The State Constitution was amended in 1873 by the addition of Section 7 to Article X (Finance), prohibiting any recognition of the State's liability for the old canal stock of the "forties."

Governor Hendricks' term was memorable for the general agitation of reform in the matter of dealing with the evil of liquors and narcotics. Women were conspicuous in urging the reform, and organized a "crusade" of prayer and of personal appeal.

Valparaiso University, now ranking among the great universities of the world, opened its doors as a "Normal School" in 1873, and grew with amazing rapidity.

The supervision of rural schools began with the establishment of the office of County Superintendent, in the same year.

Purdue University, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College, opened in the following year.

Governor Hendricks' successor was James D. Williams, the first "farmer Governor," a Democrat of long official service. He was elected in 1876, defeating General Benjamin Harrison. In the memorable campaign of that year Governor Hendricks was the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

In the following year the State undertook the construction of a magnificent Capitol, to be a marvel of economy and honest workmanship and to cost only two millions of dollars. The cost eventually exceeded this amount; but the edifice (which was completed in ten years) is a model of careful and con-

scientious construction. The almost-even balancing of the parties, and their occasional alternations of success within this period of its completion, were fortunate in that each party was kept upon its best behavior, and under the strictest scrutiny by all the voters.

In 1877 Michael C Kerr, of Indiana, was chosen to the Speakership of the House of Representatives at Washington, but was stricken with mortal illness and soon passed away. Richard W. Thompson, an Indiana man, was Secretary of the Navy in this Administrative period.

Governor Williams died in 1880, and his term was completed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Isaac P. Gray.

In 1880 the scholarly and admired Albert G. Porter, later minister to the court of Rome, was elected Governor, in a Republican success.

In 1881 the State Constitution was amended by the adoption of an article relating to Political and Municipal Corporations, and limiting their power to contract indebtedness. This was numbered XIII, replacing an obsolete article relating to Negroes and Mulattoes, which was stricken out at this time.

A bronze statue of Oliver P. Morton, the Great War Governor, unveiled upon the Governor's Circle in 1883, was the beginning of a general adornment of the capital with effigies of Indiana's illustrious men.

The observance of Lincoln Day by schools and clubs originated in Indiana, "Lincoln Leaflets" having been prepared for use throughout the State at the first observance, in 1885. The State Teachers' Reading Circle of Indiana began at about the same time, and speedily took the first rank in numbers and in work among organizations of its kind in all the country. Almost immediately thereafter, the rural schools were provided with graded courses of study. Thus the teachers of the rural schools were provided with home studies in the art of teaching, and their work was thoroughly systemized.

In 1884 the Democrats were successful in both State and Nation. Isaac P. Gray, later minister to Mexico, was then

elected, being the only Indiana Governor ever called back to the office after an interval.

In the same year Hugh McCulloch was recalled by President Arthur to his old post of Secretary of the Treasury. Thomas A. Hendricks was the successful (Democratic) candidate for Vice-President in 1884, but died in the fall of the following year.

As the new Capitol drew near to completion, the State began the erection of a noble Soldiers Monument upon the Circle. The construction of a model Union Station in Indianapolis, the great railway center, was a matter of interest throughout the country. The capital city took on a new and metropolitan aspect.

The discovery of natural gas and its application to domestic and industrial uses wrought a speedy change in the manner of life of the people very generally through the State, and ushered in an era of unexampled activity and enterprise.

In 1888 an Indiana man, General Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the Hero of Tippecanoe, was chosen to be President; and General Alvan P. Hovey, a former comrade in arms, was elected Governor. Two Indiana men—John W. Foster (Secretary of State) and W. H. H. Miller (Attorney-General)—were members of the President's cabinet.

In this term the General Assembly committed Indiana to State uniformity of textbooks for use in the schools, causing the books to be supplied under contract on the most favorable terms.

Governor Hovey was the third to die in office. He was succeeded in 1891 by the Lieutenant-Governor, Ira P. Chase.

Claude Matthews, a second "farmer Governor," a Democrat, was elected to the office in 1892, when Grover Cleveland was called back to the Presidency. General Walter Q. Gresham, an Indiana man, was called to be Secretary of State in the President's cabinet.

There was a period of great depression in the business world, following the general enthusiasm awakened by the

Quadricentennial of the discovery of America, and this was felt severely in Indiana.

In 1896 the Republicans were successful in State and Nation alike, and James A. Mount was elected Governor. He was destined to prove a War Governor, and an able one.

The Spanish War, which grew out of the misrule of Spain in Cuba, began when Congress, on the 22nd of April, 1898, adopted resolutions of intervention. On the next day President William McKinley issued his Proclamation calling for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers. Indiana was called upon for four regiments of infantry and for two light batteries of artillery.

The regiments, which were quickly supplied, were numbered the 157th, 158th, 159th and 160th, beginning where the numbers of the regiments in the War of Secession left off. To these must be added another, the 161st; also the 27th and 28th Batteries, Companies A and B Colored, the 2nd U. S. V. Company, and the 14th U. S. Signal Corps Company. Indiana's record in this war was creditable to the character and history of the State.

In 1900 W. T. Durbin, Republican, was elected Governor. His successor was J. Frank Hanley, who was elected in 1904, at which time Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was chosen Vice-President.

In 1906 was founded the city of Gary (in the extreme northwest corner of the State), which has had so astonishing a growth that in its Decennial year (the Centennial year of the State) it claims a population of forty thousand.

In 1908 Thomas Marshall, Democrat, was elected Governor. Four years later he was the candidate for Vice-President, and was elected. At the same time Indiana chose Samuel M. Rallston for Governor, and William P. O'Neill for Lieutenant-Governor.

CHAPTER XXIII

SOME INDIANA WRITERS

The large number of the meritorious writers who were born or reared in Indiana, or have written their books within our borders, is a matter of general comment throughout the country. Yet Indiana has never had a "school" of writers, and the literary works produced by people of this State are widely variant as to style, subject, and department of letters. One characteristic, however, they very generally possess in common; that is originality. It is the creative power of genius, rather than the exercise of talent, that has rendered Indiana authorship conspicuous in American literature. It is no part of the purpose here to attempt either an extended list of Indiana writers or a critical judgment of their relative merits, but to make the briefest note of the more conspicuous of them.

The list begins with that famous French traveler and author, the Count de Volney, who in 1796 was for ten days the guest of a leading citizen of Vincennes, and wrote there some deeply interesting descriptions and speculations for his *"View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America."* The Count de Volney, in French literature, is as unique as the Viscount Chateaubriand, whose history-making book was written in the wigwam of an American savage, as has been related.

Only three decades later, Robert Owen's company were in possession of the huge Rappite estate at New Harmony, on the Wabash, and were turning the "grain fort" into a library and museum, where much writing was to be done by the bright intellects that gathered in this singularly-blessed intellectual center. New Harmony writings were likely to be technical

and fragmentary, appropriate to the laboratory and to the Smithsonian Institution, which Mr. Robert Dale Owen was instrumental in establishing.

In 1833 John Finley wrote for the *Indianapolis Journal* his celebrated poem entitled *The Hoosier's Nest,* which has been assumed to describe a pioneer home in the then-remote region of Porter County, bearing that name. The popularity of the poem, from its quaint picture of frontier life, gave national currency to the soubriquet "Hoosier," which seems to have been a ludicrous imitation of the Russian *hussar* (familiarized by Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope"), though some other origins have been ascribed to the designation.

Indiana literature in the "forties" had its center in "Rosabower," at Greencastle, the home of Dr. William C. Larrabee, the collegian from "Old Bowdoin," who drew about him here a literary circle.

> "Here he builded his Rosabower,
> Marvel of stream and tree and flower;
> Reared in pride a manorial hall,
> Poem of chimney and window and wall."

Doctor Larrabee was Indiana's first Superintendent of Public Instruction. *Rosabower, Asbury and His Coadjutors,* and *Wesley and His Coadjutors* are among his works. A carefully prepared *History of Indiana from Its Earliest Exploration by Europeans* by John B. Dillon appeared in 1843. A revised edition of this famous book, extended to 637 quarto pages, was issued in 1859. A highly meritorious *Gazetteer of Indiana* was issued anonymously in 1850.

In the "fifties" the tender lyrics of Maria Louisa Chitwood, of Mt. Carmel, in Franklin County (first published by George D. Prentice in his newspaper at Louisville), seemed to give promise of long life. *The Old Still House* (of Brookville) is probably the best remembered of these.

Dr. Samuel K. Hoshour, a famous educator and minister, as the author of the *Altisonant Letters,* eclipsed all others in his quaint style of altisonant writing. Few are the college

men, indeed, who can read a dozen lines of his book without repeated recourse to a large dictionary.

The books following the war time included *The Soldier of Indiana,* in two large quarto volumes (1,505 pages), which was issued anonymously.

The decade of the "seventies" was a period of great literary activity in Indiana.

Edward Eggleston, a native of Vevay, in Switzerland County, produced a series of novels which not only gave interesting pictures of Indiana life in his boyhood, but began a new style of writing, in which the characters introduce themselves, the scenes are portrayed incidentally, and the chapters are very brief. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster, The End of the World* and *Roxy* are racy books, and were universally read.

George L. Perrow, of Sullivan, achieved but a moderate success with his *Hoosier Editor.* Though the novel possessed an excellent plot, and was well written, it was of a style that was disappearing.

General Lew Wallace, of Crawfordsville, a native of old Brookville and a son of Governor David Wallace, came into great fame by writing, in the old palace of the Viceroys of Spain at Santa Fe, his *Ben Hur, a Tale of the Christ.* Later, while a diplomat at Constantinople, he wrote *The Prince of India.* Both of these works achieved almost world-wide fame.

"Joaquin" Miller (Cincinnatus Heine Miller) and John Hay, both born and reared in Indiana, achieved high literary eminence in this decade, and are sometimes claimed as Indiana authors, though their adult life was passed elsewhere and their writings do not relate especially to this State.

Sarah T. Bolton's poems, covering many years of work, enjoy a high degree of popularity in Indiana, where she was well known.

Colonel Gilbert A. Pierce, who grew to manhood at old Tassinong, in Porter County, wrote his clever novels, *Zachariah the Congressman* and *A Dangerous Woman.* The for-

mer was the first popular picture of Washington political life. Pierce's *Dickens Dictionary* (a laborious task) may outlast the works of Dickens himself. Col. Pierce's political career drew him out of Indiana in much of his later life, but he always represented the culture and spirit of his home State.

John Clark Ridpath, of Greencastle, was a voluminous writer of history, which in his pleasing style was popularized in this country as never before. He was also, on occasion, a poet of merit.

Maurice Thompson, a native of Fairfield, was a successful writer of both prose and verse. His best novel is *Alice of Old Vincennes.*

James Whitcomb Riley, of Greenfield, who came into wide fame in the early "eighties," has been without peer as the Indiana poet; and while much of his verse is in the quaint and often touching language of uncultured and imaginary people, there is not a little that is pure and elegant English.

Of refined scholarship which loves the classics for their own sake, James A. Wilstach, of LaFayette, gave an illustration in his *Virgilians* and his translation of Vergil's works, complete.

Rose Howe, a scion of the locally historic Bailly family, wrote *"A Visit to Bois d' Haine."* Her sister, Frances R. Howe, for decades a contributor to the religious press, wrote in 1907 *The Story of a French Homestead in the Northwest* ("Baillytown," in Porter County), which possesses both historic value and popular interest.

James Baldwin, the "Book-Lover," an Indiana educator, having won the hearts of all boys by his *Story of Roland* and *Story of Siegfried,* devoted himself in the "nineties" to purely literary work, and wrote books especially desirable for school libraries.

Leroy Armstrong depicted the tragedy of politics in the fiercely-contested Hoosier State in his story of *An Indiana Man.* This book, which appeared in 1891, was soon dramatized.

Of the Indiana writers of the past quarter-century, many of whom are still writing, the list is long. George Ade's flippant humor and light drama, Booth Tarkington's pictures of cosmopolitan life, and Winston Churchill's novels of deep moral significance, all have the Indiana characteristic of originality, though they are imitated by others.

Of individual books by other writers of Indiana, the following are named without prejudice to the many others which really deserve mention: Oliver H. Smith's *Sketches of Early Indiana;* H. B. Nowland's *Prominent Citizens of Indianapolis;* A. Y. Moore's *Life of Schuyler Colfax;* George W. Julian's *Life of Joshua R. Giddings;* J. P. Dunn's *Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery;* Richard M. Thompson's *Recollections of Sixteen Presidents;* William Wesley Woollen's *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana;* Holcombe and Skinner's *Life and Speeches of Thomas A. Hendricks;* Richard G. Boone's *Education in Indiana;* John W. Foster's *Twenty Years of Diplomacy;* Hugh McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century;* Albert J. Beveridge's *Russian Advance;* David Starr Jordan's *Story of Matka;* George Barr McCutcheon's *Beverly of Graustark;* Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower;* Meredith Nicholson's *House of a Thousand Candles;* Wilbur Nesbit's *Gentleman Ragman;* George Cary Eggleston's *Last of the Flatboats;* David Graham Phillips's *The Plum Tree;* Elizabeth Miller's *The Yoke;* Dr. John M. Coulter's *Plant Relations;* W. D. Foulke's *Life of Oliver P. Morton.*

It is a happy thought of the cultured traveler of today to purchased souvenir books *in situ* (in the place where the author was born or reared or in which he wrote). Thus at Crawfordsville or at Brookville one buys, let us say, *Ben Hur;* at Valparaiso, the *Dickens Dictionary;* at Greenfield or at Indianapolis, a book of Whitcomb Riley's poems; at LaFayette, *The Virgilians;* at Vevay, *Roxy;* at Greencastle, a volume of Ridpath; at Bloomington, *The Story of Matka;* at Rushville, *The Book Lover;* at Salem, a volume of John Hay; etc., etc.

If this practice shall become general, it will insure the issuing of new editions when needed, and will add greatly to the interest and value of the traveler's collection.

SCHOOL SONG OF INDIANA

Words by Hubert M. Skinner. Old French Air.—*Vive la Compagnie.*

1. From Lake un - to Riv - er ex-tend her green fields— Fair is the State we love!
2. Thou land of the he-roes who bat-tled of old, Far in Col - o - nial days—
3. O State that was first in thy loy - al - ty shown, Proved in our Na - tion's woe,

And gold - en the har-vest her in - dus - try yields— Proud is the State we love!
Of con-quer-ing Clark and his fol - low - ers bold, Wor-thy of end - less praise!
And first to give wo-man the right to her own, Broad - ly thy hon - ors grow.

O famed are her states-men in ev - er - y zone, Loved is her Po - et, her
O voi - ces are call - ing, the cen - tu - ries thro', Call-ing from Wa-bash and
Thy sons and thy daugh-ters, with loft - y ac-claim, Join in the joy and the

School-master known, Trumpet and lyre, Col-lege and Spire, Tell of the State we love!
Tip - pe - ca - noe:— "Pa - tri - ots be, Dare to be free!" An-swer-ing voi - ces raise.
pride of thy name; Age up - on age, His - to - ry's page Bright with thy fame shall grow.

CHORUS.

O fair In - di - a - na, to thee we are true! Bright is thy star in our

Red, White, and Blue! Here's to our State, the Old Hoosier State—Here's to the State we love!

Remembered, St. Joseph, thy story
Long as thy waters glide;
And eloquent ever thy voice, Kankakee,
History's love and pride!
O vocal no less is the storied Old Trail,
Path of the Patriots, bidding us hail
Brady, Maillet!
Cheer we to-day!
Here shall their fame abide.

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